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CHANGE
AND CONTINUITY
IN
INDIAN RELIGION

by

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plines (ahiṃsā, satya, brahmacarya, etc.) are one, Gandhi continues: "It is not possible to enunciate one grand principle and leave the rest to follow of itself. ... This enables one to realize the full meaning and significance of brahmacarya".[117] Elsewhere he defined the idea under consideration as "realization of brahman". "It means control of the senses in thought, word and deed. So long as thought is not under complete control of the will, brahmacarya in its fulness is absent".[118] Such brahmacarya – which in practice means total self-control – is impossible to attain by mere human effort. Those who desire to observe it with a view to realizing God need not despair, provided their faith in God is equal to their confidence in their own effort (cf. BhagG. 2, 59).[119]

These quotations need no comment. They show that the important conception of brahmacarya may be quoted also in defence of the thesis that not all Vedic terms of religious or *weltanschauliches* import have disappeared in Hinduism or have so changed in meaning that they are hardly recognizable.

[117] *Ibidem*, VIII, 1954 (1963), p. 1 f.
[118] M. K. Gandhi, *The story of my experiments with truth* (Autobiography), ed. (Washington, 1954), p. 259.
[119] Gandhi, *Story of my experiments with truth*, p. 260.

X. DĪKṢĀ

A. INTRODUCTORY

Like the preceding chapters the following pages are not intended to give a comprehensive survey of all phenomena connected with a definite ceremony, *in casu* the various rites of 'initiation' or 'consecration'.[1] The history of the Indian dīkṣā and allied phenomena remains to be written. What will, here again, be emphasized is a number of facts and phenomena which may be of some interest from the point of view of the central theme of this volume, 'change' and 'continuity' in the history of Indian civilization. It must therefore be noticed that this chapter also is primarily intended to counterbalance, in a way, some exaggerated notions regarding the wide gulf between Vedism and Hinduism. As the rites under consideration have been described in several handbooks which will be referred to in footnotes no attempt has been made to describe them in full. If on the other hand the author seems, also in this chapter, to have repeated too often accounts of ritual acts or other religious phenomena which are essentially similar or in their development follow identical patterns, it is because he wishes to bring out from their very frequency and repetition their great antiquity and their survival on the one hand and their elasticity, adaptability and power of combining themselves with other elements on the other.

It is needless to expatiate upon the world-wide meaning of 'initiation' and 'consecration'[2] as a new birth since this theme has in the last decen-

[1] For general information see B. Lindner, *Die Dīkṣā oder Weihe für das Somaopfer* (Leipzig, 1878); W. Caland et V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906), p. 11 ff.; A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, 10, p. 358 ff.; H. Hubert and M. Mauss, *Année sociologique* 2, p. 53 ff.; J. W. Hauer, *Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis* (Stuttgart, 1922), p. 65 ff.; H. Lommel, "Wiedergeburt aus embryonalem Zustand in der Symbolik des altindischen Rituals", in C. Hentze, *Tod, Auferstehung, Weltordnung*, I (Zürich, 1955), p. 107 ff.
[2] For 'the consecrated' see also Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, ch. 29. For the significance of initiation and consecration in 'religions de salut' see also A. Abel etc., "Religions de salut", *Annales du centre d'Étude des Religions*, 2 (Bruxelles, 1962).

nium been repeatedly and very ably discussed.[3] The initiatory birth, which implies death to profane existence, enables man to gain sacred knowledge and wisdom, a higher stage of existence and access to heavenly life. These are conceived as the fruit of initiation and it is indeed significant that in connection with the awakening of higher consciousness obstetric symbolism does not fail to turn up. The upanayana which makes a man as if born again (ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 1, 16ff.; Manu 2, 147f.; 2, 169 etc.) and which is, on the fourth day, followed by the medhājanana "the generation of intelligence" by virtue of which the student's intellect was made capable of mastering the contents of the Veda, enabled the young Aryan to study that corpus which alone confers the highest bliss upon the twice-born (Yājñ. 1, 40). The man who has undertaken the dīkṣā is reborn from brahman and hence proclaimed as such, even if he were a kṣatriya or a vaiśya (ĀpŚS. 10, 11, 6). The Buddhist Kassapa said of himself: "Natural son of the Blessed One, born of his mouth, born of the Doctrine, fashioned by the Doctrine" (SaṁyNik. II, 121).

An interesting feature is that most forms of the Indian dīkṣā discussed in this chapter are to be undertaken, not by a priest, but by a private person who in so doing has his own objects and interests in view, although these are of course in harmony with the ideals and practices of his group and are therefore approved of or considered meritorious by his fellowmen. A Vedic priest and many officiants in non-Vedic cults are not ordained or consecrated.[4] Any learned brahman who has specialized in a branch of the Veda may be invited to act as a priest, but the institutor of

[3] In addition to other publications quoted in other notes, mention may be made of M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the profane* (New York, 1961), p. 197 ff.; the same, *Naissances mystiques* (Paris, 1959) (English edition, *Birth and rebirth.* New York, 1958).

[4] The Vedic sacrifices were in the great majority of cases performed for an individual. However, the sattra or prolonged sacrificial session formed an exception, in that it saw carried out for the common benefit (cf. also ŚB. 4, 6, 8, 13; 15) of all the priests taking part in it. However, the advantageous results of a sattra could only be secured if all the members, being brahmans, actually engaged underwent the dīkṣā and so they did. (For some particulars see A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 153 ff.; A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy*, Cambridge Mass., 1925, p. 349 ff.). The dīkṣā is not different from the dīkṣā of the yajamāna (see also ŚB. 4, 6, 8, 1 ff.), but the fact that the pratiprasthātar, i.e. an assistent of the adhvaryu, has the latter undertake the dīkṣā after the adhvaryu has performed the usual acts necessary to assist the brahman who plays the part of yajamāna (institutor), the brahman priest, the udgātar and the hotar (the three other principal celebrants), shows again that this rite has nothing to do with the ordination of priests. In a chapter of the ŚB. discussing the dīkṣā for sattras it reads (ŚB. 4, 6, 8, 18): "Now then the sattra is explained by which the gods quickly drove out evil (*pāpman*-), and gained the supreme authority which they now wield ... and in like manner will these sacrificers, by having one householder ... quickly drive out evil and be born again (*prajāyante*)".

the sacrifice has to be 'consecrated' i.e. subject himself to the complicated ritual of the dīkṣā. This 'consecration', which presupposes that the sacrificer has at an earlier date undertaken the upanayana or 'Jünglingsweihe', may be considered a temporary state of higher sanctity. It must be emphasized that it is only the initiated institutor of a Vedic sacrifice who derives the benefit of its performance and that this person declares in the intention which he is to formulate before the beginning of the sacrifice[5] that he desires to gain heaven (*svargakāma*-).[6] Since the sacrificer is already "twice-born" by virtue of the upanayana, this means that the purpose of the dīkṣā is to 'regenerate' him so that he can share in the sacred. It is indeed a more complete participation in that which is sacred, a more or less radical change[7] in the initiand's existential status what is pursued by the type of 'initiation' represented by the dīkṣā. Instead of upanayana and the renewable dīkṣā we find in the monastic orders an ordination proper – sometimes called dīkṣā – which is to be preceded by a noviciate beginning with a ceremony which is a parallel of the upanayana, and in various Hindu sects and communities an admission to full membership,[8] to priesthood or guruship, which is also known as dīkṣā. Another striking feature is the close parallelism between rites called *dīkṣā*- and other ceremonies of an initiatory character, for instance the upanayana and the other rites in connection with the study of the Veda, and the ceremonies in connection with the consecration of a king. To avoid repetition some more detailed references to the similarities between dīkṣā and the study of the Veda will be given towards the end of this section and in the third section of this chapter.[9]

At first sight the Vedic dīkṣā[10] is widely different from the complex of ceremonies indicated by the same term in Hindu circles. The Vedic sacri-

[5] Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 1 f.

[6] As is well known this term is frequently used in connection with the performance of rites. For the "unmittelbarer Gottesumgang" of those consecrated see also F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 374 f.

[7] For the consecration as "change" compare also J. de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, II (Leiden, 1937), p. 134 f. (the ancient German mead was supposed to transform those who drank it ritually). Hence also the view expressed AiB. 7, 22 f.: "he who has recourse to the sacrifice has recourse to brahma; sacrifice is brahma; being consecrated he (a kṣatriya) attains brahmanhood". That is to say, consecration temporarily converts a kṣatriya into a brahman.

[8] "From the morphological point of view we could consider these initiations to be the Indian counterpart of initiations into secret societies in the primitive world", M. Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, p. 104.

[9] See further on, p. 350 ff.

[10] For a more detailed description see A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Cambridge Mass., 1925), p. 300 ff.

ficer has, after some preparation, to submit himself to a consecration (*dīkṣā-*). The ceremonies take place in a hut which is specially erected for this purpose and which is completely wrapped round, because "the world of the gods is separated from that of men". The sacrificer enters the tent after having bathed, donned a new garment, anointed himself, etc. The adhvaryu priest consecrates him with a black antelope's skin on which he sits down crawling; according to the tradition this object contains holy power. He moreover wears a girdle which is a source of power (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 10), a staff etc. The adhvaryu proclaims him three times consecrated. In studying these rites and in attempting to trace their history we should never forget that the Vedic authorities are far from agreeing with one another in all details. We consider ourselves relieved of the trouble to enlarge upon this point with regard to the upanayana and Vedic studentship because the surveys of this complex of ritual acts as given in the handbooks will enable the reader to form an opinion.[11] On the variants in the performance of dīkṣā some remarks may however be inserted. In spite of the systematic precepts of the texts on which we will focus attention it is clear that they do not exactly coincide. Particular acts and mantras which occur in part of our sources are wanting in other texts. Variants are not rare. For instance, with regard to the uṣṇīṣa[12] opinions are divided: "L'uṣṇīṣa, dans Baudh. seulement; Śālīki ne parle que des pans du vêtement, et Āp., Hir., Mān. et Kāty. n'admettent pas qu'on emploie autre chose. Bhār. permet l'option ...".[13] Besides, the order of the rites is not everywhere the same. According to ĀpŚS. 10, 7, 15 the oblations of ghee may also be offered before the acts prescribed in 10, 3, 8; "according to some they are to be muttered before this iṣṭi". Beside these minor points of difference which are very common in any ritual prescriptions, there are some departures from the scheme presented by Caland-Henry which being of greater importance seem to show that various forms of dīkṣā must have existed side by side. We will have to revert to them.

Moreover, there does not, on closer examination, appear to have existed a hard-and-fast line between the ritual acts known as *dīkṣā-* and ceremonies called otherwise. As remarked by Hauer[14] and others the occurrence of *dīkṣita-* in connection with the *brahmacārin-* (AV. 11, 5, 6 *brahmacāry eti samidhā samiddhaḥ ... dīkṣito dīrghaśmaśruḥ* "the Veda student goes kindled with fuel ... consecrated, long-bearded") points to a close connection or similarity between the 'Jünglingsweihe' and 'Opferweihe', or rather those ritual occasions on which one form of dīkṣā or other was requisite. As will be stated elsewhere *dīkṣā-* was also used instead of *vrata-* "vow, observance".

[11] For the upanayana see also the preceding chapter.

[12] See p. 371.

[13] Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 19, n. 4. See also further on, text following n. 83.

[14] Hauer, *Anfänge*, p. 65.

In this connection it is interesting to notice that Nyāya authorities give three different meanings of *dīkṣā-*:[15] 1) *niyamaḥ, yathā dvādaśa yāgāṅgadīkṣāḥ ity adau*, i.e. "a voluntary or self-imposed religious observance, such as the twelve consecrations or initiations in connection with the divisions of the ceremonies in which oblations are presented, etc."; *dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭyā saṃpannaḥ saṃskāro dīkṣā* also "a sanctification involving a sacrifice before the consecration"; 2) *upanayanasaṃskāra iti dharmajñāḥ* "the authorities on dharma say that it is equivalent to the 'sacrament' of being introduced, as a student, to the study of the Veda"; 3) *abhīṣṭadevamantragrahaṇe tadupadeśa iti tāntrikā āhuḥ* "the followers of the tantric doctrines say that (a dīkṣā) is "instruction or initiation by him (the god) in the mastering of the mantra of the favourite god"; *atrocyate dīyate vimalaṃ jñānaṃ kṣīyate karmavāsanā / tena dīkṣeti sā proktā munibhis tantravedibhiḥ*; notice the 'etymological explanation': the transference of stainless knowledge and the destruction of the impressions left on the mind by the karman are the twofold function and significance of *dīkṣā-*. It is moreover interesting to notice that the term *dīkṣā-*[16] denoting in general an initiation, or a consecration for a particular religious ceremony, and being also used for special initiatory or consecratory ceremonies such as the receiving of the initiatory mantra or the complex of rites preliminary to a sacrifice, may also occur in the sense of a (consecratory) religious rite in general and saṃskāras in particular. Thus Kāl. R. 3, 33 *athāsya godānavidher anantaraṃ vivāhadīkṣāṃ niravartayad guruḥ* "then after the ceremony of the cutting of the hair had been performed, his father performed the marriage rites". Here an Indian scholar[17] added the following note: "*dīkṣā-* is the assumption of a particular observance or observances during the performance of a ceremony. A sacrificer is said to take the *yajñadīkṣā-* i.e. the vow to observe particular rules of conduct till the end of the sacrifice. So the young prince taking up the *vivāhadīkṣā-* binds

[15] Bhīmācārya Jhalakīkar, *Nyāyakośa or Dictionary of technical terms of Indian philosophy* (Poona, 1928), p. 656.

[16] There would be no point in a discussion of the *avāntara- dīkṣā-*, "the intermediate consecration" on the first upasad day in which the sacrificer draws tighter his girdle, clasps more firmly his fist, and only drinks warm milk (see Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 66 f.; Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, p. 194 f.).

[17] Pandit, quoted by M. R. Kale, *The Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa*, I (Bombay, 1925), p. 77.

himself to live in the condition of a married man until he should enter the vānaprasthāśrama". Cf. also Kāl. Kum. 7, 1 (= *vivāhasaṃskāraḥ*, Mallinātha).[18]

Lexicographers distinguish also between three types of *upanayana-*:[19] *sa ca saṃskāraḥ trividhaḥ nityaḥ kāmyo nimittikaś ca*. The first is the usual practice of introducing a young brahman, aged eight, to a guru, the second the special initiations for a person who wishes to acquire *brahmavarcasa-* etc., and the third is defined as *punaḥsaṃskāraprayojakapāpāpanodanārthaṃ prāyaścittātmakaḥ* i.e. "(a ceremony) of the character of an atonement for the expiation[20] of evil leading to the repetition of a 'sacrament'', i.e. the so-called *punarupanayana-*, when the first has been vitiated by partaking of forbidden, i.e. ritually impure food, going to certain countries etc.[21]

It is worth mentioning that punarupanayana is also required when a person who has studied e.g. the Ṛgveda wants to apply himself to learning the Atharvaveda (Haradatta on ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 1, 10).[22] In other cases the study of a particular text is to be preceded by what is usually called a *vrata-* – thus Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, commenting on GGS. 3, 1, 26 remarks: "the *upanayana-* has been declared for the study of the Sāvitrī, the *godānavrata-* for the study of the Vedic verses sacred to Agni, Indra, etc., the *vrātikavrata-* for the study of the Āraṇyaka etc." – or, in the Mānavagṛhyasūtra,[23] *dīkṣā-*.

We should not forget that the Vedic upanayana[24] was not only an "educational saṃskāra"[25] or a course of instruction[26] and education. It could also serve the fulfilment of certain desires. One should, JGS. 1, 12, states, initiate a young brahman who is desirous of 'spiritual lustre' (*brahmavarcasakāmam*) in his 5th, and a brahman who desires to live

[18] We need not discuss here such esoteric interpretations as occur ChU. 3, 17, 1.
[19] Tārānātha Tarkavachaspati, *Vachaspatyam*, II (Varanasi (Benares), 1962), p. 1216.
[20] W. Gampert, *Die Sühnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur* (Praha, 1939), passim.
[21] I refer to P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, II (Poona, 1941), p. 392 f.
[22] Compare also Kane, *o.c.*, p. 392.
[23] See further on, p. 329 f.
[24] We cannot discuss here the question as to how far women were in ancient times qualified to undertake upanayana like boys. In exceptional cases the possibility has, as far as we are able to see, existed. See A. S. Altekar, *Position of women in Hindu civilization* (Benares, 1956), p. 397 (index). The 'classical' point of view is voiced by Manu: for girls marriage should be regarded as the substitute for upanayana – the text, 2, 67, using the expression *saṃskāro vaidikaḥ* – and the service of the husband as equal to living in the house of the guru. Compare however also ŚB. 1,3,1,13 and similar passages.
[25] R. Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras* (Delhi, 1959), p. 291.
[26] Cf. R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian education* (London, 1947), p. 71 ff.

long in his 9th year. Other texts (BaudhGS. 2, 5, 5; ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 20ff.; cf. VaikhGS. 2, 3) make, in this connection, mention of persons desirous of manly vigour, of food, of strength, of cattle, of intelligence, of prosperity, of getting rid of a rival, of all objects. In itself, these 'secondary intentions' are nothing exceptional in Vedic rites. While expressing, on the other hand, the conviction that an initiatory ceremony, if modified in a definite way, may be conducive to the realization of various worldly hopes and ambitions, they may have helped the masses to establish, or to acknowledge, connections between this saṃskāra and other brahmanic or non-brahmanic rites and to imitate or adapt them with a view to the specific purposes of particular groups.

Moreover, descriptions of the upanayana ceremony too often fail to mention that there existed special upanayanas required for the study of medical science (Āyurveda), although a student of medicine, as a *dvija-*, should have already undergone such a saṃskāra. The āyurvedic upanayana (see Suśruta, ch. 2: *śiṣyopanīya- adhyāya-*) emphasizes physical and moral qualifications, properly formed bodily organs, cleanliness, good manners, courage, intelligence, patience and other qualities.[27] The solemnity[28] involved the construction of an 'altar' (*sthaṇḍila-*), offerings to the deity, to the brahmans and to the physicians. As in the upanayana proper there is a homa, Brahmā, Prajāpati, the Aśvins, Indra[29] and the ṛṣis who were associated with medicine are invoked.[30]

By the oath taken at the conclusion of the ceremony by the candidate at the invitation of the preceptor and in presence of Agni as a witness (§ 6 *agniṃ triḥ pariṇīyāgnisākṣikam*) the first-mentioned commits himself to a way of life in accordance with the injunctions stated. Agni's function as a 'witness' is Vedic.[31] The injunctions imposed on the candidate are in part similar to the advice given to the snātaka – the Veda student who is to return home – with regard to a dignified demeanour, and in part appropriate to the occasion: the physician must observe certain rules, be a man of strict morals etc. There are moreover some life-long vratas (no sexual intercourse with a śūdra woman etc.: GGS. 3, 2, 55ff.). The oath itself has

[27] Suśr. 2, 3 *brāhmaṇakṣatriyavaiśyānām anyatamam anvayavayaḥśilaśauryaśaucācāravinayaśaktibalamedhādhṛtismṛtimatipratipattiyuktaṃ tanujihvauṣṭhadantāgram ṛjuvaktrākṣināsaṃ prasannacittavākceṣṭaṃ kleśasahaṃ ca bhiṣak śiṣyam upanayet. ato viparītaguṇaṃ nopanayet.*
[28] For a description see Mookerji, *o.c.*, p. 345 f.
[29] Indra who is sometimes associated with the Aśvins was also a great helper, who e.g. cured Apālā (ṚV. 8, 91).
[30] Not in the text as edited in the Caukhambā series 1954.
[31] Cf. Pandey, *Hindu saṃskāras*, p. 58 ff.

its Vedic counterpart in the great royal consecration (Mahābhiṣeka): the king must swear to his priest to be true, at the cost otherwise of all his merit in sacrifice and gifts to the priests since the beginning of his life, his good deeds etc. (AiB. 8, 15).[32] This oath is to be taken by a kṣatriya who desires to win all victories, and to attain superiority and supreme authority. One sentence forming part of the oath handed down by Suśruta is worth quoting (§ 7): *ahaṃ vā tvayi samyagvartamāne yady anyathādarśī syām, enobhāg bhaveyam, aphalavidyaś ca*: a self-imprecation in case the candidate nurses wrong feelings with regard to his preceptor.[33] It may be remembered that the teacher of the Veda was not to impart knowledge to a student who did not honour him (Nirukta, 2, 4) or who proved false to him or was disposed to find fault (Yājñ. 1, 28). According to some authorities (*ity eke*, § 5) a śūdra, who is *kulaguṇasampanna-*, may without mantras and upanayana study medicine.

There was also a sort of initiation implying the use of a Vedic mantra for 'military students' when they received their weapon.[34] Hence also the expression Mbh. 7, 72, 16 cr. ed. *raṇadīkṣābhir dīkṣitāḥ*. Interestingly enough the term under discussion may alternate with *nīrājana-* "lustration". In AVPar. 49, 3, 9 the terms *hastidīkṣā-* and *aśvadīkṣā-* refer to the ceremonies described in the chapters 17 and 18 and there designated as *hastyaśvānāṃ nīrājanam*.[35]

That there were on the other hand comparable rites which did not bear the name *dīkṣā-* may appear from AVPar. 13, the so-called *hiraṇyagarbhavidhiḥ*. The royal sacrificer, who is shaven etc., is washed over a golden vessel with water containing the five products of the cow; he is shut up in a golden vessel and left to meditate upon Hiraṇyagarbha. This rite – which showed exceptional vitality, because it was still in use in the XIXth century[36] – was to make the sacrificer appropriate to himself the indestructibility of gold and participate in immortality.

That the concept of dīkṣā might at an early date be closely connected with witchcraft or be 'used in the magical sphere'[37] is clear from AV. 8, 5,

[32] For the oath in the Veda see Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 395 f.
[33] Respect for the guru is also enjoined upon a Veda student, a Jain or Buddhist monk etc.
[34] I refer to Mookerji, *o.c.*, p. 347. Compare also Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, p. 81 ff.
[35] For lustrations see e.g. Varāh. BS. ch. 44. Cf. J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation* (Zürich-Leipzig, 1937), III, p. 335.
[36] See the bibliographical references furnished by Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, p. 150, n. 47.
[37] The formal preparation of magicians, shamans and medicine men "resembles in its main features the ritual of initiation whereby young men at puberty or thereabouts are introduced to their duties and responsibilities as members of the community. Isolation and seclusion, ordeal and purification, are features common to both sets of rites. The

15 – a hymn against witchcraft – *yas tvā kṛtyābhir yas tvā dīkṣābhir yajñair yas tvā jighāṃsati* "whoever desires to slay you with witchcraft, with 'consecrations', with sacrifices". "Es wurden also Weihen vorgenommen zur Erlangung von geheimer Kraft, die dann zum Schaden der Widersacher losgelassen wurden".[38] It hardly needs observing that 'magical' use of Vedic rites and 'magical' application of ritual which in other connections impress us as being purely 'religious' is far from rare.[39] The particular character of the dīkṣā meant in the above text may perhaps be understood from the employment of the so-called hotar formulas and the rites belonging to them – which may also occur in a dīkṣā[40] – in conjurations and other magical performances: in that case the offering is made on salt ground or a break in the earth,[41] and in place of the ordinary *vaṣaṭ*-call such words as *khaṭ* or *phaṭ* are used. Henry[42] was right in stating that "les conjurateurs du rite atharvanique ne pressurent point le soma; mais ils se soumettent néanmoins à une consécration préliminaire tout à fait analogue à la dīkṣā sacrificielle de la grande liturgie". In this case it is not a yajamāna but the performer of the magic rite who (Kauś. 47, 12-22) ties a girdle which has been duly prepared round his waist, takes a staff which is identified with Indra's vajra, with which he intends to overpower the enemies, pronounces consecratory formulas, fasts for three days, and performs on the first day of the moon's wane magical acts etc. etc. This complex of acts is in Keśava's Paddhati explicitly indicated as a dīkṣā: "die Weihe dessen, der die Behexung halten will".[43]

One might subjoin here the rite described in ChU. 5, 2, 4 ff. – "the 'mixed potion' incantation for the attainment of greatness"[44] –: "if one should wish to reach greatness, let him on the night of a new moon perform the preparatory consecration ceremony (or initiatory rite: *dīkṣitvā*) and on the night of the full moon mix a potion of all sorts of herbs with sour milk and honey". According to Śaṅkara[45] the performer of the rite should

likeness between the two often extends to details, such as the simulated death and rebirth of the novices and their acquisition of a new name ... Such resemblances are not fortuitous" (H. Webster, *Magic. A sociological study*, Stanford, Cal., 1948, p. 221). It is the fundamental purpose of all these rites to place their recipients *en rapport* with power.
[38] Hauer, *Anfänge*, p. 67.
[39] See my *Ṛgvidhāna* (Utrecht, 1951), p. 3 ff.
[40] See further on, p. 329.
[41] See ĀpŚS. 14, 13, 13 f.
[42] V. Henry, *La magie dans l'Inde antique* (Paris, 1904), p. 223 f.
[43] W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual* (Amsterdam Academy, 1900), p. 160.
[44] R. E. Hume, *The thirteen principal Upanishads* (Oxford, ²1934), p. 229. Cf. also BĀU. 6, 3.
[45] See Chāndogyopaniṣad-Śaṅkarabhāṣyasahitā, Gorakhpur² saṃv. 2011, p. 465.

on the day of the dīkṣā have passed through the ethical preparation, austerity, trustfulness and chastity: *bhūmiśayanādiniyamaṃ kṛtvā tapo-rūpaṃ satyavacanaṃ brahmacaryam ity ādidharmavān bhūtvety arthaḥ. na punar daikṣam eva karmajātaṃ sarvam upādatte, atadvikāratvān manthākhyasya karmaṇaḥ.* It is clear that a dīkṣā is here prescribed in order to perform a magical rite intended to attain an ideal (supremacy etc., 6) successfully.

An interesting use of dīkṣā occurs also in AV. 14 (nuptial hymns), 2, 52 *uśatīḥ kanyalā imāḥ pitṛlokāt patiṃ yatīḥ / ava dīkṣām asṛkṣata svāhā* "eager, these young girls, going to a husband from the father's world have given up (relinquished) the consecration; svāhā!" According to Kauś. 75, 24f. this verse is used in connection with the heating of the water for bathing the bride, the important preparatory performance which is the first of the series of sacramental acts constituting the wedding ceremonies. Apparently the bride's girlhood or puberal period passed in her parental home are regarded as a dīkṣā. Just as a sacrificer is by means of a dīkṣā enabled to enter a higher state or niveau of existence, thus the bride is now duly prepared to enter upon a new stage of life. One would however expect the wedding to be considered the consecration of the bride to the married state, the more so as in the six stanzas which follow (53-58), and which according to the scholiast[46] are likewise used in connection with the heating of the bath-water, those speaking are said to "unite this woman with the splendour, energy, fortune, glory, milk and 'sap' which is in the kine". There is of course the possibility of translating *ava ... asṛkṣata* (52) by "have shaped (produced) themselves". If, what is probable, *dīkṣām* is also to be supplied in 53-58,[47] Bṛhaspati is said to have produced dīkṣā which since is maintained by all the gods. The repeated use of st. 53ff. when, at the end of the wedding ceremony, the bride is sprinkled with fragrant powders, may then – to round off these guesses – be regarded as due to reinterpretation of *avasṛṣṭām* ("dismissed, given up"). Anyhow, dīkṣā is once again used in a Vedic text to indicate a consecration other than the yajamāna's.

A peculiarity of the Atharvavedins is for instance also the so-called twelve good performances enumerated GB. 1, 3, 21. These works should not be carried out during the state of dīkṣita but in order to secure their fruits one should mutter six bipartite formulas (VaitS. 12, 1f.). GB. 1, 3, 21 runs as follows: ... *dvādaśa vai vasūni dīkṣitād utkrāmanti. na ha vai dīkṣito 'gnihotraṃ juhuyān na paurṇamāsena yajñena yajeta; nāmāvāsyena*

[46] See also Whitney-Lanman, *Atharva-veda saṁhitā*, p. 764.
[47] See Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*

nāsmin[48] *vasīta; na pitṛyajñena yajeta; na tatra gacched yatra manasā jigamiṣed* etc., the formulas (VaitS., l.c.) being *agnihotraṃ ca mā paur-ṇamāsaś ca yajñaḥ purastāt pratyañcam ubhau kāmaprau bhūtvākṣityā sahāviśatām* etc.[49]. The first formula belongs to the cases one and two *na ... juhuyāt* and *na yajeta*. "Auch am Ende der Dīkṣitaschaft soll der Opferherr die genannten Sprüche hersagen, um sich die Frucht der Handlungen, obschon er sie unterlassen hat, dennoch zu sichern: *vasusaṃ-pattaye*".[50]

A ritual text may limit itself to a short reference to some details and prescriptions peculiar to the school to which it belongs. Thus ŚŚS. 5, 4, 1, while prescribing the formulas occurring ĀpŚS. 10, 8, 7 in a somewhat different form and order, leaves the yajamāna the option to offer the libations himself, a proceeding rejected by the Kauṣītakins (KB. 7, 4), because the āhutis have already been offered by the adhvaryu. The contents of ŚŚS. 5, 4, 3-4 are unknown from elsewhere:[51] "At a soma-sacrifice which is preceded by one dīkṣā (day) the solemn addressing (of the fires falls to the share of the sacrificer), of the āhavanīya with the formula: 'I approach the mind as dīkṣā'". These words *mano dīkṣām upaimi*; *vācaṃ d. u.*, and *prāṇaṃ d. u.* which do not occur elsewhere, attest to a peculiar interpretation of the consecration.

That it would be wrong to apply the term *dīkṣā-* exclusively to the ritual preparation of the sacrificer as described by Caland and Henry may be inferred from those instances – few in number, it is true –, in which the dīkṣā is not preparatory to a soma sacrifice but occurs after a sacrifice, or in which the observances described as dīkṣā fill the period between two sacrifices. See e.g. ĀpŚS. 22, 3, 16f. where the 'taboos' to be observed during a year after the performance of an ekāha, viz. washing the feet, eating meat, coition, speaking untruth, sleeping on a bed, anointing are called the dīkṣā. The same authority (8, 4, 4ff.) prescribes similar dīkṣā observances (*antarālavratāni*) for the periods intervening between the cāturmāsya sacrifices (*inter alia*, one should sit on the earth, not on a seat; one lets one's hair grow). BaudhŚS. 26, 3: 274, 14 dealing with the shortened form of the rājasūya uses the term *dīkṣā-* with reference to the period after the unction and daśapeya festivals: *ardhamāsena saptadaśo daśapeyo, 'rdhamāsaṃ dīkṣito dīkṣitavratī.*[52]

[48] Thus Caland instead of *asmin*.
[49] See Caland, in *Z.D.M.G.* 58, p. 506 ff.
[50] Caland, *o.c.*, p. 507.
[51] Caland, *Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra*, ed. by Lokesh Chandra (Nagpur, 1953).
[52] See also J. C. Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 6, p. 14.

This is not all. As shown by Dr. Heesterman[53] the vrātya is not only put on a par with the dīkṣita of the soma ritual, but also in a way his predecessor. His ritual – which does not fit in with the ritual system of the brahmans – can be connected with certain features of the śrauta ritual which seem to be older than the products of the brahmanic systematization represented by the 'classical' form of the rites. The above relation means that the vrātya – who can no longer be regarded as having been beyond the pale of brahmanic religion and society and whose rituals seem to have celebrated the uniting of a group at the beginning as well as at the end of 'raiding expeditions' – in many respects behave like the dīkṣita.[54] PB. 17, 1, 9 even calls the vrātya's speech *dīkṣitavāc-*; BaudhŚS. 18, 24: 371, 12 considers it the manifestation (*rūpa-*) of the speech of the dīkṣita (*dīkṣitavāda-*). PB. 24, 18, 5-7 hands down three stanzas, not recorded elsewhere, which extol the dīkṣā of the vrātya leader Budha. Like the dīkṣita the vrātya is ritually 'impure';[55] for instance, the vrātya's as well as the dīkṣita's food is not to be accepted. As already noticed by Hauer[56] BaudhŚS. 18, 24: 371, 8 equates the equipment of the vrātyas with that of the dīkṣita (garment, hide, turban, staff). In both cases this equipment is to be given up at the end of the sacrifice. It is instructive to see that the term dīkṣā can also apply to the ritual habits of the vrātyas who are neither brahman nor vaiśya (PB. 17, 1, 2), neither brahman nor kṣatriya (JB. 2, 223); practising neither Veda study nor worldly occupations they wander about in quest of heaven, like the dīkṣita who has left this world but not yet reached heaven (TS. 6, 1, 1, 1; MS. 3, 6, 1 *devatām eṣa upaiti yo dīkṣate*). The vrātya also is in "the ambiguous condition of the consecrated".[57]

The dīkṣā of the daśapeya is in the White Yajurveda substituted by a wreath of twelve lotus flowers which the sacrificer hangs round his neck. Cf. KātyŚS. 15, 8, 8f. *teṣāṃ srajaṃ pratimuñcate. teṣāṃ puṇḍarīkāṇāṃ srajaṃ mālāṃ kṛtvā pratimuñcate yajamānaḥ.* As the lotus is a visible representation of the womb of creation,[58] this equation sheds an interesting light on the significance of the dīkṣā. Compare also JB. 2, 200 … *dvādaśapuṣkarāṃ srajaṃ pratimuñcati. āpo vai devānām patnaya āsan. tā*

[53] Heesterman, "Vrātya and sacrifice", *I.I.J.* 6, p. 1 ff., esp. p. 11 ff.; 29 ff.
[54] As already observed by Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 6, p. 15 f. there appear to have been unmistakable relations between the vrātyas and the Pañcāla Keśin Dārbhya whose peculiar ideas on consecration are referred to in another section of this chapter (p. 374).
[55] For details see Heesterman, *l.c.*
[56] Hauer, *Der Vrātya*, I (Stuttgart, 1927), p. 193.
[57] Heesterman, *o.c.*, p. 9.
[58] See my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 104 (with a bibliography in n. 52).

mithunam aicchanta. tā devā upāyan. tā garbham adadhata. tataḥ puṣkarāṇy ajāyanta. satyaṃ va āpaḥ. satyaṃ dīkṣā. satyasyaiva tat satyaṃ yat puṣkarāṇi. satyasyaivāsmai tat satyena tapo dīkṣāṃ pratimuñcati. A remarkable fact is also that the *diśaḥ* "the quarters of space" are called a dīkṣā (see TB. 3, 7, 7, 4ff. and esp. 6, in connection with the dīkṣā of Keśin Dārbhya).[59] Entering upon each of them the royal sacrificer becomes their dīkṣita; here the idea of ritual rebirth, once again, combines with the idea of ascension to heaven or mastering the whole of the universe:[60] *jyotir abhūvaṃ suvar agamam* (TB. 3, 7, 7, 4).

As is well known various ritual acts can, so to say, be performed 'metaphorically', or rather, various important performances can be homologized with ritual acts. Thus in an exaltation of the entertainment of guests (AV. 9, 6) it reads (st. 3) "when the lord of guests meets with his eyes the guests, he looks at a sacrificing to the gods". This must mean: meeting the eyes of one's guests is – if properly done – homologous to the attendance at a sacrifice. The utensils used to prepare the entertainment are identified with the sacrificial utensils. In a similar way greeting (*abhivadati*) guests is said to be an entering upon consecration (st. 4 *dīkṣām upaiti*). The arrival of a guest is not to be regarded with indifference. Greeting was a religious act, intended to intercept the first onset of the alien power in which the stranger participates; it was a measure of precaution.[61] By saluting or welcoming the stranger one enters into the right relation with him, being able to deal successfully with the uncommon situation. The conclusion may be ventured that the use of the term dīkṣā points, in this connection, to something similar. In ChU. 3, 17, 1 hunger and thirst preceding eating and drinking are identified with the dīkṣā, the eating etc. with the upasad ceremonies. The author intends to teach a sacrifice which can be performed in spirit, without any ceremonial. At the end of the MNārU. (543ff.) an interesting attempt is made to interpret

[59] See e.g. Caland, *Das Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl* (Amsterdam Academy, 1919); A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of names and subjects* (Varanasi, 1958), I, p. 187 and p. 374 of this chapter.
[60] Heesterman, *Royal consecration*, p. 104 f. – It may be remembered that ideas such as spiritual rebirth, quest of immortality etc. are, in the modern West, often misunderstood. "Devenir immortel", Mrs. A. David-Néel, *Immortalité et réincarnation* (Paris, 1961), p. 24 says, "… ne signifie pas nécessairement une très longue existence du corps physique …", (but primarily) "s'unir avec le 'Principe Eternel' et, par conséquent, s'élever au-dessus de la nature".
[61] See e.g. O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1917-1923), p. 412 ff.; Bächtold-Stäubli, in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, III, 1197 ff.; R. Thurnwald in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, IV, 572; G. A. Barton, in Hastings' *ERE* XI, 107; R. B. Ekvall, *Religious observances in Tibet* (Chicago, 1964), p. 199 ff.

the sacrifice, its acts and elements in the light of the mental cult of the brahman seeker who renounces the world. When the man who knows thus performs an act of worship his ātman is the yajamāna, his faith his wife, his body the fuel etc. and then (544) *yāvad dhriyate sā dīkṣā* "pour lui, dès lors, exister c'est être consacré".[62]

In a homology of elements of the sacrificial worship with parts of the body of the yajamāna it reads (GarbhaU. 20) ... *yajamānāya buddhiṃ patnīṃ nidhāya dīkṣā saṃtosaḥ ... śiraḥ kapālaṃ keśāḥ darbhāḥ* etc. (*tadbuddhiṃ patnītvena saṃbhāvya buddhau patnīdṛṣṭiṃ kṛtvety arthaḥ; yajamānasyeti sarvatra anuṣajyate; saṃtoṣaṃ tatsaṃtoṣo eva dīkṣā* ..., comm.). Compare Deussen's text:[63] "Der Ātman ist der Opferherr, das Manas der Brahman-Priester, die Begierden usw. sind die Opfertiere, Ausdauer und Genügsamkeit sind die Opferweihe ...". These passages help us in understanding what the dīkṣā idea meant to those who reflected upon the deeper sense of the ritual.

More or less esoterical homologies between elements of the dīkṣā and the dīkṣita on the one hand and important entities on the other occur already in JB. 2, 53-68. Cf. ch. 54 end: *tad u hovāca śāṭyāyanī raṭhantareṇa dīkṣe, vāmadevyena dīkṣe, bṛhatā dīkṣa ity eva dīkṣata. atha vimuñceta bṛhatā vimuñce, vāmadevyena vimuñce, rathantareṇa vimuñca iti. saiṣā dīkṣāyai yuktiś ca vimuktiś ca. sa ya evam etāṃ dīkṣāyai yuktiṃ ca vimuktiṃ ca veda vasīyān eva bhavati.* In ch. 62 and 63 the sun (*ya eṣa tapati*) and the puruṣa in the eye are declared to be the dīkṣita, and the text arrives at the conclusion: *sa haivaṃvid dīkṣamāṇo ... indriyaṃ jyaiṣṭhyaṃ śraiṣṭhyam abhi dīkṣito bhavati.*

A similar value may be attached to attempts, however naive and unscientific in our eyes, to fathom the meaning of the term etymologically.[64] GB. 1, 3, 19-23 furnishes us with some remarks on the consecration of a sacrificer who is to perform an agniṣṭoma:[65] *atho dīkṣā. kasya svid dhetor dīkṣita ity ācakṣate, śreṣṭhāṃ dhiyaṃ kṣiyatīti.* The term is explained as: "one possesses the best (product of inspiration)". This view is however not in harmony with ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 30 where *dīkṣita-* is explained as *dhīkṣita-*.[66]

[62] J. Varenne, *La Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* (Paris, 1960), I, p. 139.
[63] P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda* (Darmstadt, 1963), p. 610.
[64] Compare in general my paper "The etymologies in the ancient Indian brāhmaṇas", *Lingua*, 5, p. 61 ff.
[65] The dīkṣā is in this passage treated in close correspondence with VaitS. 11, 17 ff. See also W. Caland, *Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharvaveda übersetzt* (Amsterdam Acad., 1910), p. 33.
[66] See J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa translated*, II (Oxford, 1885), p. 47, n. 1.

Mānavagṛhyasūtra 1, ch. 23 contains a number of interesting ritual practices called *dīkṣāḥ* (translated by "observances"[67]) and intended to be carried out before the study of special sections of the ritual. This chapter therefore continues and completes the paragraphs on vratāni as far as they concern the study of special texts (1, 4, 12 ff.). As already observed the gṛhyasūtras generally use the term *vrata-* in this connection; although they differ considerably with regard to the number and the names of these vratas, they agree that their significance is that they render a student capable of the study of special Vedic texts.[68]

The first "observance" mentioned is the *cāturhautṛkī-* which lasts one year.[69] Cf. also VGS. 7, 1 (the chapter dealing with *vedavratāni*) *atha cāturhautṛkī dīkṣā saṃvatsaram.* As an obligatory ritual act oblations with the caturhotar formulas are prescribed (MS. 1, 9, 1: 131, 3 "The earth is the hotar, the sky the adhvaryu etc.").[70] This rite is explained MŚS. 5, 2, 14,[71] from which it *inter alia* appears (§ 22) that one who even after his study does not thrive, shall go to the forest, make a learned brahman sit beside him, tie up a bundle of darbha grass, and then recite loudly of his own accord (?)[72] the caturhotar-formula. "After he has given up this observance (in the same way as he undertook it), he (i.e. the teacher) should make him repeat two chapters from the beginning" (MGS. 1, 23, 3). It is clear that the term dīkṣā here applies to a much less complicated ceremony which however is likewise intended to prepare the person who undertakes it for the study of sacred texts and to make him a recipient of its fruits. Now it is not without interest that a rite the characteristic element of which is a series of oblations accompanied by the caturhotar formulas should have been described as a dīkṣā. The so-called hotar formulas[73] which are required in many ritual contexts identify the priest with divine powers etc. Since each of them represents a complete sacrifice – which is not actually executed but considered to have taken place as a mental process –, they are termed offerings. Normally they are assigned to the sacrificer, but they can also be employed independently. Thus a man who wishes cattle must for twelve nights drink hot water and sleep on the ground; early next morning he goes east, says the daśahotar and

[67] Dresden, *o.c.*, p. 102.
[68] See Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 307 f.
[69] i.e. one has to restrain from food: MS. 1, 9, 6: 138, 12; ĀpŚS. 14, 13, 1.
[70] For full detail see Dresden, *o.c.*, p. 103 f.
[71] For a translation see J. M. van Gelder, *The Mānava Śrautasūtra* (New Delhi, 1963), p. 181 f.
[72] See Dresden, *o.c.*, p. 103, n. 4.
[73] See Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 165 f.; Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 356.

offers ghee with the caturhotar formulas.[74] The formulas are of the nature of upaniṣads and must be due to the desire to substitute mental processes for ritual action.

The study of (eight chapters of the Agnicayana; cf. MGS. 1, 21, 13; 23, 5ff.) is in a similar way introduced by an undertaking of the Agni dīkṣā (*āgnikī dīkṣā*, comm. on MGS. 1, 23, 5), which likewise consists in the performance of libations accompanied by mantras. It may be observed that these ceremonies are in the same texts, quite intelligibly, also called *vrata-* "observances" (see also VGS. 7, 3; 5): MGS. 1, 23, 7 it reads *vrataṃ pradāyādito 'ṣṭāv anuvākān anuvācayet* "after he has given up this observance (similarly § 3) the teacher should make him repeat eight chapters from the beginning". The Agni dīkṣā the description of which is continued in §§ 8ff.: "he should fetch water ...; he should lie down on the ground ...; he should not descend into water ...". When the time of the observance is over, the guru should make the 'initiate' recite the Vātsapra hymn (ṚV. 10, 45). Then he should entertain brahmans with cakes smeared with ghee.

The Aśvamedha dīkṣā – i.e. *aśvamedhāvasthāpanaṃ tadadhyayanaprayojanaṃ yasyāḥ sāśvamedhikī* (comm.) – which is taught 1, 23, 14ff. lasts twelve nights.[75] This rite which includes also the fetching of grass for the horse is intended to prepare the study of a number of other chapters, *inter alia* those accompanying the offering of the different parts of the sacrificed horse (MS. 3, 16, 1ff.; TS. 5, 5, 11-24). When one is about to study the "secret doctrine" (*rahasyam*) one offers a pravargya (MGS. 1, 23, 21). It is not devoid of interest that the Traividyaka 'observance' – *traividyakaṃ tan na dīkṣāviśeṣaḥ* (comm.), a vrata preceding the study of three chapters (one from each Veda?) – is (§ 24) said to be described together with the upanayana.

Attention may also be invited to the dīkṣā of the Agnicayana[76] or "building of the fire-place" (ŚB. 6, 6-8) which is characterized by a number of divergences. In addition to a cake presented to Agni and Viṣṇu it requires a vaiśvānara cake (ŚB. 6, 6, 1, 2). There are seven special and grabhaṇa libations (6, 6, 1, 15), with reference to which mention is made of practices peculiar to "some authorities" (id. 22). The sacrificer has to make a fire-pan (*ukhā-*) which is kept filled with fire, from the time of the consecration; he has to carry it about for a year and to perform various

[74] See ĀpŚS. 14, 13, 1 ff. and Caland's notes (*o.c.*, II, p. 386).
[75] For the same duration of the dīkṣā of the sacrificer who wishes to perform the aśvamedha see P. E. Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha* (Paris-Louvain, 1927), p. 54, § 239.
[76] A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur* (Straszburg, 1897), p. 162.

rites, striding the Viṣṇu strides[77] and adoring the fire in the pan. That is to say, the sacrificer who desires to derive the full benefit from the initiation, and the Agnicayana generally, must not only keep up the "Agni of the fire-pan" (*ukhya Agni*) during the year of the initiation, but must also carry him at least for part of every day during that period. For the explication of the rite compare e.g.: "In like manner (i.e. as the gods who strode the Viṣṇu strides) the sacrificer, having changed himself into that same (Agni) strides through these worlds" (ŚB. 6, 7, 2, 11); "the fire is the sacrificer's divine body" (ŚB. 6, 6, 4, 5); "the dīkṣita is Agni" (ĀpŚS. 10, 13, 1); "it is from these (the pan and the requisites belonging to it) that he who is born is born, and from them he thus causes him (Agni) to be born" (ŚB. 6, 6, 2, 16); "Prajāpati as well as the sacrificer are poured, as seed, into the fire-pan as the womb, for the fire-pan is a womb" (ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 1-2).

The belief is indeed testified to that any victim "is poured as seed into the fire as its womb, from out of which it is produced again" (ŚB. 11, 1, 2, 2). That is to say, the victim which is offered into Agni is through this god born again. By means of a definite mantra (VS. 23, 18) one lays the vital airs into the victim, so that it is a living one (ŚB. 13, 2, 8, 2). The same effect is achieved by cleansing the openings of the vital airs of the victim (ŚB. 3, 8, 2, 4): then also "that food of the gods becomes truly living". Cf. also TS. 1, 3, 10 c d "may Indra's expiration be set in every limb" etc.[78] Man himself gives himself up to the gods when he as a sacrificer undertakes his observance (*vratam upaiti*); and when he performs the sacrifice he redeems himself by the sacrifice from the gods (ŚB. 11, 1, 8, 4f.); that sacrifice becomes his self in yonder world (ibid. 6). "Thus the sacrificer who knowing this performs that offering of redemption comes into existence in yonder world with a complete body" (*ibidem*). That is to say, the sacrifical animial represents him in the world of the gods. After death his body, being cremated, is likewise born again and enters heaven in a living state (ŚB. 11, 2, 1, 1).

Special attention must finally be drawn to the unmistakable analogies between the soma dīkṣā and the rites performed in connection with the 'consecration' of a king.[79] Like the normal sacrificer the king in the rājasūya is to be ritually reborn out of the sacrifice. It is explicitly stated (ĀpŚS. 18, 8, 1; HŚS. 13, 3, 1) that the rājasūya is performed by a ruler who is *svargakāma-*, i.e. who wants to obtain access to heaven. The

[77] See my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 55 ff.
[78] Cf. also J. Schwab, *Das altindische Tieropfer* (Erlangen, 1886), p. XX.
[79] Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1957), p. 7; 15; 56; 61; 91; 97 ff.; 111; 218.

central moment, the unction festival, is preceded by a year which is marked as a year-long dīkṣā. During this year the king is a dīkṣita. The conduct prescribed for him during another year which is to pass between this unction and the hair-cutting festival can also be regarded as a dīkṣā; the king, like the normal dīkṣita should sleep in the hut and abstain from a number of activities (LāṭyŚS. 9, 2, 17ff.). Several of the iṣṭis to be performed as part of the rājasūya ceremonies occur also in the dīkṣā rites. Like the normal dīkṣā the *maitrabārhaspatya iṣṭi* (rājasūya) is to accomplish the ritual rebirth of the sacrificer. The preparation of the king for the unction (clothing, purification, eating, being proclaimed) resembles the dīkṣā rites. In the unction ceremony the tiger skin plays a part analogous to that of the black antelope skin in the dīkṣā. It has moreover be observed[80] that for instance the use of the horn of the antelope in the dīkṣā is in a way parallel to its use for the wiping of the mixture used for the anointing of the king (ŚB. 5, 4, 2, 4). Recently the supposition has been ventured[81] that "the rājasūya sacrificer is the forerunner of the common yajamāna of the classical Soma sacrifice" so that the royal unction is not only closely akin to, but even at the base of the dīkṣā. If this supposition of the greater originality of the royal consecration and the, at least in some respects, secondary character of the dīkṣā of the yajamāna would in the main be correct, it might be considered to corroborate the Aryan origin of this type of initiation or consecration. It would indeed be strange, if a rite which is to consecrate a ruling prince should have been borrowed from foreigners, 'barbarians' or those non-Aryan communities which were, to a certain extent, in course of being assimilated. However, I fail to see how we could adduce cogent arguments in favour of the above suppositions, because the royal ritual, in which an archaic cyclical pattern is still discernible,[82] may have developed as well on the basis of a more general (cyclical) ritual in vogue among those prominent Aryans who could afford to have it executed.

Whereas therefore the relative terminology (*dīkṣā*) etc. was applied to a considerable variety of initiatory rites, it should be remembered that the description of the 'normal' śrauta dīkṣā like that of the saṃskāras such as upanayana in the sūtras and smṛtis is far from uniform.[83] Sometimes

[80] Not quite exactly, A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Cambridge Mass., 1925), p. 301.

[81] Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 6, p. 36.

[82] See Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 6, p. 15.

[83] See above, this chapter, text in connection with notes 12 and 13. For different customs and practices connected with the upanayana as taught in the dharma texts see S. Ch. Banerji, *Dharma-sūtras* (Calcutta, 1962), p. 76 ff.

texts give alternative rules, or refer with a tone of disapproval to the opinion of other authorities: elsewhere they modify or omit prescriptions taught by other experts; then again they introduce innovations, adopt customs hitherto rejected or designate ritual practices as obsolete (*utsanna-*; cf. e.g. ŚŚS. 17, 6, 2). Sometimes also a rite was typical of a definite region (cf. TB. 1, 8, 4, 1f). Incidentally we hear of individuals or groups with practices peculiar to themselves: thus Keśin Dārbhya subjected himself to a dīkṣā ceremony while seated on darbha (ritual grass) and parṇa-leaves (JB. 2, 53).

Moreover, a closer examination of the relevant rites shows that all Vedic initiation rites are composed of a number of ritual acts each of which expresses a definite ritual idea (purificatory or eliminatory rite etc.). A considerable part of these elements are not peculiar to a special type of dīkṣā or to the Jugendweihe, but occur in several rites, e.g. in dīkṣā of the śrauta ritual, in the upanayana of the gṛhyasūtras, or also in some other saṃskāras. Postponing a more detailed discussion of the relevant acts and of the accompanying mantras – to which the same remark must be said to apply – to one of the following chapters, attention may be drawn here to preparatory hair-dressing, bath and adorning or anointing, to the dress, the sacrifice, the rôle of the antelope skin, the girdle and the sacred grass, and in connection with these to the accumulation of special power in the initiand, to the observance of certain taboos and the proclamation of the person concerned as consecrated and the formal departure of the student, etc. etc.[84] Whereas the Veda student – like the Buddhist monk etc. – had to go to the village to beg his food which he should announce or present to his guru saying: "(These are) the alms", the latter accepting them with the words: "Good alms (they are)" (HGS. 1, 7, 15f.; GGS. 2, 10, 44, etc.), the sacrificer in a soma ritual had to send emissaries to collect by begging valuable goods which were to be distributed as dakṣiṇās (KS. 23, 6; ĀpŚS. 10, 48, 4ff.): the so-called saniyācana ceremony. "Das Opfer gedieh den Göttern nicht: da stellten sie es durch die

[84] In a review of Oldenberg's "Religion des Veda" Barth (A. Barth, in *Journal des savants*, Paris, 1896, p. 479) aptly remarked that "les autres observances qui accompagnent le culte ... ressemblent fort à celles de la dīkṣā, la cérémonie par laquelle on se prépare à tout grand sacrifice", continuing "toutes celles ont pour objet, d'une part, d'acquérir des qualités magiques, de s'incorporer en quelque sorte des énergies ... par lesquelles on aura prise sur les dieux, sur les hommes et sur les choses; d'autre part, de se préserver de toute puissance mauvaise, de chasser ou de se soumettre les démons". One might add that this is also the twofold aim of the saṃskāras (as far as their more popular or materialistic aspects are concerned); and so also of the upanayana which is considered the main saṃskāra (see especially R. B. Pandey, *Hindu Saṃskāras*, Banaras, 1949, p. 39 ff.).

Dakṣiṇās her: indem der Geweihte sich seinen Unterhalt beschafft, stellt er das Opfer her ..." (KS.[85]). This rite may probably be related to similar activities in the royal ritual.[86] Vādhūla[87] informs us that emissaries of the king who had the aśvamedha executed robbed those vaiśya subjects of their possessions who could not answer certain questions on that great royal sacrifice. These looted valuables then served as dakṣiṇās.

The conclusion seems to be warranted that these ceremonies were composed of a number of separate rites and that once they were brought into vogue they were subject to variation, extension, accretion and mutual influence. Whereas each brahmanic community could, if so desired, draw on tradition or popular usage or reject ritual practices of other groups, the influence of similar rites performed in the same community manifestated itself no less than the efforts of the specialized brahmans to fix and systematize the practices of the 'school' or tradition to which they belonged.

There can indeed be no doubt whatever that these rites had, before their apparent fixation in the texts known to us, undergone a long and complicated process of development some stages of which are still visible.[88] It is even probable that in some cases previous stages, and even comparatively crude stages, of śrauta rites have been preserved.[89] An argument in favour of the supposition that the dīkṣā ceremony has been made up of a considerable variety of elements, different in origin and ritual connection, may also be derived from the different order of its main stages. For instance, according to some authorities the dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi precedes the dīkṣā proper, according to others it follows, or is to be inserted elsewhere.[90] The Kaṭhas were of the opinion that the meal had to precede the hair-cutting, the Mānavas prescribed it before the putting on of another garment (cf. ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 6).[91]

There may, further, something be said for the assumption that those elements which the various initiatory and consecratory rites – e.g. dīkṣā and upanayana – have in common may, generally speaking, be comparatively ancient, the more so as part of them were because of the archaic simplicity of their symbolism and the occurrence of analogous practices

85 The translation is Caland's, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, p. 158.

86 See also Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 3, p. 248 f.

87 See W. Caland, in *Acta Orientalia*, 4, p. 186 ff.

88 Cf. *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 107 ff.

89 See especially the article on Vrātya and sacrifice, by Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 6 (1962), p. 1 ff.

90 For details: Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 15, n. 1.

91 For the special rites for those who followed the Atharvaveda see section C.

in other civilizations in all probability rites of long standing. The above considerations are however not to argue that all ancient ritual was either reformed and absorbed or abolished and superseded by the standardizing and systematizing activity of the brahmanic schools. We should by no means exclude the possibility of rites and practices surviving beside the 'official' brahmanic ritual in marginal milieus which passed their religious beliefs and ceremonials on to those later communities which are responsible for the development of theistic, tantrist and other typically Hinduist currents of religious thoughts and traditions of ritual practice. It may safely be contended, not only that in the 'religion of the tantras' and the allied documents many ancient and 'popular' rites and practices were so to say reorganized and adapted to the ideas and conceptions of these schools of thought, but also that the inclusion of practices occupying a prominent place in full-fledged Tantrism was not limited to 'purāṇic' rites only. The Vedic texts themselves testify to the existence of 'popular rites' and of practices and interpretations which do not seem to fit in with their own schemes of 'classical' Vedic ritualism.[92] The main fundamental ideas may, moreover, appear in different garbs, the same aspirations realized by different ritual methods. These ritual methods were outside the brahmanic schools continually subject to change and reorganization. We should object to the implicit assumption that the classical Vedic Soma dīkṣā was anything other than a special standardized form of a ritual technique, need for which was, because of the force of the underlying ideas, generally felt.

It would be naive to suppose that the question as to how far the dīkṣā as described in the ritual texts has always formed an integral element of the Soma sacrifice may be discussed in a few lines. Hillebrandt's view – for which he does not adduce arguments – that "die Weihe kein ursprünglicher Bestandteil des Somaopfers (ist), sondern einer der vielen Zusätze, um die dasselbe im Lauf der Geschichte des Rituals bereichert worden ist"[93] is in any case not free from superficiality and inadmissible simplification. As the tendency to undertake 'consecratory rites' before entering into contact with the divine powers is common to many religions and as these rites often are composed of cathartic, apotropaeic, purificatory and unificatory[94] rites,[95] as, further, these elements are, besides the re-

92 See e.g. E. Arbman, *Rudra* (Uppsala, 1922), esp. ch. IV; J. Gonda, "The study of ancient-Indian religious terminology", *History of religions*, I (Chicago, 1961), p. 243 ff.

93 Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II (Breslau, ²1929), p. 319, n. 1 and 349, n. 4.

94 "Einigungsriten", cf. the Greek ἕνωσις.

95 Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, p. 176 ff.

birth and regeneration motives, clearly discernible in the Vedic soma dīkṣā, there is in my opinion room for the supposition that at least part of the ritual acts which enter into the composition of the classical dīkṣā[96] had always belonged to a soma sacrifice. If I am not mistaken one of the results of a comparative study of the Vedic initiatory and consecratory rites is that there is something to say for the thesis that some traditional rites were, in brahmanic circles, adapted, enlarged, combined, legalized, systematized and subjected to a theoretical interpretation, while other practices being rejected by the same authorities were to survive and develop in other milieus.

B. ORIGINS

Part of the practices and prescriptions relating to the Vedic ritual can be cogently explained by the theory that it contained a 'magico-ecstatic' element which aimed at the attainment of control over certain powers and potencies conducive to the benefit of the sacrificer, his family and possessions. The dietetic regulations, austerities and abnegations involved in the Vedic dīkṣā point in the same direction.[97]

Although the relative texts are perfectly clear and the particulars which they furnish us leave little to be desired and although Sylvain Lévi,[98] basing himself on these texts, has already over sixty years ago understood the true nature and some essential details of the Vedic dīkṣā very well, this element of the ancient Indian religion has given rise to misinterpretations and unconvincing theories. Nowadays however there can be no doubt that the Vedic dīkṣā was intended to bring about a preliminary

[96] To these elements no doubt belonged rites and practices which have also survived in gṛhya ceremonies. I am afraid I have my doubts about the correctness of the view that in comparison with śrauta rites gṛhya rites are generally speaking secondary (cf. also R. Gopal, in *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 1 (Hoshiarpur 1963), p. 296 f.: "The Cuḍākarman of the Gṛhyasūtras seems to have been developed on the pattern of the tonsorial ceremony of the sacrificer described in the Brāhmaṇas, for there are many striking similarities between the two". There are other possibilities of explaining these similarities; see section C.

[97] See also S. K. Belvalkar and R. D. Ranade, *History of Indian philosophy*, II (Poona, 1927), p. 405. This is not to subscribe unreservedly to the view of these authors that "the real origins of the systematized theory of the Yoga are accordingly to be traced to this early Vedic ritual, which, as we saw, was a blend of certain simpler forms of nature-worship with certain animistic or totemistic ideas borrowed from the practices of the neighbouring non-Aryan peoples".

[98] S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les brāhmaṇas* (Paris, 1898), p. 102 ff. Cf. also P. Oltramare, *L'histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, I (Paris, 1906), p. 30.

sanctification of the Aryan man who wished to perform a soma sacrifice, that it was a means of obtaining a new birth and a higher stage of existence. "The sacrificer is really intended to be born in the heavenly world" (ŚB. 7, 3, 1, 12). "He who is consecrated approaches the gods and becomes one of the gods" (ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 8: *yo dīkṣate sa devatānām eko bhavati*);[99] "he enters into the divine state" (MS. 3, 6, 1: 60, 2 *devatām eṣa upaiti yo dīkṣate*); "the world of men being concealed (separated) from the world of the gods, this ceremony places him who undertakes the dīkṣā outside the world of men ..." (MS. 3, 6, 1). In ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 17 the *dīkṣita-* is expressly stated to become Viṣṇu, who, with Agni, is lord and guardian of the dīkṣā (AiB. 1, 4, 10):[100] *yad aha dīkṣate tad viṣṇur bhavati*. This fact may be of some interest towards gaining a correct insight into the nature of the dīkṣā, because Viṣṇu, who also prevents the defects in the sacrifice from producing any evil consequences (AiB. 3, 38) is the god who keeps the ways between earth and heaven open.[101]

The *dīkṣita-* is furnished with a new body and – the texts emphasizing "the embryological and obstetrical character of the rite with plentiful imagery"[102] – is homologized with one in the course of being reborn.[103] "Him to whom they cause to undertake the dīkṣā, the sacrificial priests make into an embryo again" (AiB. 1, 3, 1). "Just like the mythical *Urbild* Prajāpati, having become an embryo, sprung forth from that sacrifice, so does he become an embryo and spring forth from that sacrifice" (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 11). Cf. also ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 15.

Now the sacrificer has two bodies, one of which being material and mortal is to be offered: "he who consecrates himself offers himself to all the deities" (AiB. 2, 3, 9 *sarvābhyo vā eṣa devatābhya ātmānam ālabhate yo dīkṣate*; cf. 2, 9, 6; ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 21). He is explicitly called an "oblation" (*haviḥ*; KS. 23, 6: 81, 4). Cf. also ŚB. 11, 2, 3, 6. Hence also the rule that the material body should, by cutting hair and beard etc., be made ritually pure (TS. 6, 1, 1, 2). The nails of the right hand are, *more deorum*, cut first, "for in human practice those of the left hand are cut first" (ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 4). The dīkṣita abolishes his biological existence in order to enter upon

[99] Cf. also ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 1 "he elevates himself from this world to the worlds of the gods".

[100] See also *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 113.

[101] Hence also the oblations usually offered to Agni and Viṣṇu before the dīkṣā proper: see W. Caland-V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906), p. 15. This is not to endorse Hillebrandt's (A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II (Breslau, ²1929), p. 319, n. 1) thesis, that the dīkṣā originally belonged to the cult of Viṣṇu.

[102] M. Eliade, *Birth and rebirth. The religious meanings of initiation in human culture* (New York, 1958), p. 54.

[103] For details see Lévi, *o.c.*, p. 103 ff.; Eliade, *o.c.*, p. 54 f.

an embryonic, and at the same time primordial, situation.[104] The body acquires a suprahuman power; being kindled through the dīkṣā it is enveloped by flames (TS. 7, 4, 9, 1 and comm.). Beliefs and practices which in another context would impress us as purely magical appear in this connection: the man who consecrates himself must be silent lest the sacral power should be lost (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 38; TS. 6, 1, 4, 3; MS. 3, 6, 8). "Let him not converse with every one; for he who is consecrated draws nigh to the gods, and becomes one of the deities. Now the gods do not converse with every one ..." (ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 10). He may not rise and greet any one (see e.g. also JB. 2, 63; ĀpŚS. 10, 12, 14), because *pratyuttheyā abhivādyās ta enam āviṣṭā bhavanty atharvāṅgirasaḥ* (GB. 1, 3, 19).[105] The food of the dīkṣita must not be eaten, nor his name pronounced, because *tasya ye 'nnam adanti, te 'sya pāpmānam adanty athāsya ye nāma gṛhṇanti te 'sya nāmnaḥ pāpmānam apāghnate* (GB. l.c.; cf. MS. 3, 6, 7; TB. 5, 6, 10). The bath which is one of the elements of the dīkṣā is clearly meant to be a purification: ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 12 "cleansed and pure I go forth from them (the waters)".

The state of sanctity of a consecrated yajamāna and his wife is clearly indicated by a considerable number of other 'taboos'.[106] They must for instance speak the truth, not falsehood: speaking the truth (*satya-*), which according to Mbh. 12, 316, 12f. conduces to the greatest good of beings[107] is conformity with the divine, the eternal or ultimate reality. Besides, the gods are expressly identified with *satyam*: ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 4; 3, 3, 2, 2; 3, 9, 4, 1 *satyam eva devā amṛtaṃ manuṣyāḥ*;[108] AiB. 1, 6, 7 *satyasaṃhitā vai devā amṛtasaṃhitā manuṣyā iti*; KauṣB. 7, 3 "this exclamation is the speech of the consecration, and it is verily truth; 'he who speaks the truth, is con-

[104] "This theme of going back in order to abolish the historical duration that has already elapsed and to begin a new life, with all its possibilities intact, has so obsessed humanity that we find it in a great many contexts and even in highly developed soteriologies and mysticisms" (Eliade, *o.c.*, p. 55; see also Kosmogonische Mythen und magische Handlung, in Paideuma 6 (1956), p. 194 ff., by the same author).

[105] Cf. Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, III, 1197. "Fast allgemein verbreitet ist die Vorschrift, dass man bei irgendwelchen Zauberhandlungen nicht grüssen soll; dadurch würde eben das Gebot des Schweigens verletzt und den Zauber unwirksam gemacht". "Das Schweigen dient ... als Mittel magischer Konzentration analog den Enthaltsamkeitsriten ... Es hat ferner den Zweck des ungestörten und wirksamen Verlaufes einer zauberhaften Handlung" (F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart, 1961, p. 334). See e.g. G. Mensching, *Das heilige Schweigen* (Giessen, 1926).

[106] Enumerated in Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 20 ff.

[107] See also P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II (Poona, 1941), p. 10 for other references; and compare H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951-59), p. 13 ff.

[108] Cf. also ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 17.

secrated'"; BaudhŚS. 6, 6, 1; NāradaS. 1, 215. *Satya-*, i.e. "being and behaving in conformity with truth and reality" is moreover TU. 1, 1 closely associated with brahman and with ṛta with which it was also in older texts intimately connected. As is well known the man who holds to his word and abides by truth acquires extraordinary power.[109] Other people must greet him, but not touch the dīkṣita, nor mention his name. The name being identified with its bearer, divine powers are often not called by their name.[110] Direct contact which in itself may have either good or ill effects – it may e.g. cause the "infusion of fresh energy or impart an energy" of wicked effect –, is often a simple technique employed to put oneself in possession of, or to have a share in, the specific power of a power-bearer (relic, idol, amulet);[111] in this case it would cause the 'discharge' of the divine power of the dīkṣita. It was for the same reason that the latter had to avoid vomiting and spitting; if such a loss of body-fluid happened to him he had to recite a formula (ĀpŚS. 10, 13, 11) by virtue of which it returned to his body. For the dīkṣita (who is to become one of the deities) a shed is constructed with the top-beams running from west to east, because the east is the quarter of the gods (ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 6ff.; cf. TS. 6, 1, 1, 1). "The shed is enclosed on every side, lest it should rain upon the sacrificer, while being consecrated" (ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 8). Here Lindner[112] quotes the words 3, 1, 1, 2 (?) *yad vai dīkṣitam abhivarṣati divyā āpo 'śāntā ojo balam dīkṣām tapo 'sya nirghnanti* "when it rains upon the man who undertakes the consecration, the divine waters, because they are not appeased,[113] destroy his creative (inaugurative) power, his strength, consecration and austerity".

Omitting the other taboos and obligations, I mention only the case covered by the direction given TS. 3, 1, 1, 2 "if one who is consecrated sees anything which is ritually impure, the consecration departs from him"; he must then pronounce the formula: "the mind is unbound, the eye is strolling;[114] the sun the best of lights; O consecration, do not forsake me"; "then the consecration does not depart from him".

Lévi, after quoting MS. 3, 6, 7 "in truth, man is unborn; it is through sacrifice (*yajñena*) that he is born", was quite justified in recalling that the

[109] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 295.

[110] Now see Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 275 (with literature).

[111] See e.g. Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 230 ff.; H. Wagenvoort, *Roman dynamism* (Oxford, 1947), p. 13 ff.

[112] B. Lindner, *Die Dīkṣā*, Habil. Schrift (Leipzig, 1878), p. 9.

[113] D. J. Hoens, *Śānti*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1951), passim.

[114] "Suivant le sens étymologique de *daridra-*"vagabond", l'oeil n'a pu s'empêcher de voir ce qu'il voyait, son péché est donc excusable" (Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 22, n. 10).

funeral rites were so to say a continuation of this consecration. Says ŚB. 11, 2, 1, 1: "man is born three times, first from his parents; a second time when he sacrifices ...; a third time when he dies and they place him on the fire, and when he thereupon comes into existence again".

There is another point worth remembering. A sacrificer who is not a brahman is nevertheless spoken of as one: ĀpŚS. 10, 11, 6 "he who consecrates himself is born from brahman; that is why he (the adhvaryu) proclaims also a noble man or a member of the third estate a brahman".[115] Thus the result of the consecration in the case of one who was not a brahman, was to convert him, for the time being, into a brahman.

As is often the case in dealing with problems like the one under consideration the learned discussion on the character and the origin of this complex of sacral acts has produced different hypotheses and some controversies which, though containing elements which prove to be untenable, are generally speaking on reconsideration not in all respects so mutually exclusive as their authors might have held them to be. Oldenberg[116] saw that the dīkṣā has affinities with ceremonies which all over the world have been used to bring about that feeling of ecstasy which makes man akin to the divine. He moreover emphasized the element of *tapas* "austerity, 'asceticism'",[117] inferring from this association of dīkṣā and the eminently creative tapas that the former belongs "zu einem Kreis von Observanzen, die von der Anwendung der Erhitzung zur Erreichung übernatürlicher Erfolge ausgehen". Oldenberg was however well aware of the interpretation of the dīkṣā as a new birth which is emphasized in the brāhmaṇas, an interpretation which he considered to be "leicht mit dem Tapasmotiv vereinbar". Recent studies[118] have shown that Oldenberg was on the

[115] For other particulars see Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 20.

[116] H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Stuttgart, ³1923), p. 397 ff. Cf. also J. W. Hauer, *Anfänge der Yogapraxis* (Stuttgart, 1922), p. 65 ff.

[117] Oldenberg's translation "Kasteiung" is as misleading as that preferred by A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Cambridge Mass., 1925), p. 300, who seems to follow Oldenberg in this point. It cannot however be maintained that VS. 4, 2; 7 the dīkṣā is "explicitly declared to be a tapas" (Oldenberg): *dīkṣātapasos tanūr asi*; *dīkṣāyai tapase 'gnaye svāhā*. Nor do ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 5; ĀśvŚS. 4, 2, 3 admit of this conclusion. – Cf. also V. Henry, "Physique védique", in *J.A.* 10, VI (Paris, 1905), p. 385 ff. and especially p. 390 ff. (on the creative aspects of heat or tapas: p. 393 f. "... quand le Gop. Br. à son début nous montre ... le Brahma neutre 's'évertuant, s'échauffant, entrant en effervescence' pour tirer les êtres de sa substance (*tad abhyaśrāmyad abhyatapat samatapat*), il n'est nul besoin, il serait plutôt gênant d'introduire dans son processus une autre notion que précisément celle d'effervescence qui suffit à tout expliquer"). See now also my remarks on the creative aspects of heat in connection with the facts collected by C. J. Blair, *Heat in the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda* (New Haven Conn., 1961), p. 63 ff.: *I.I.J.* 8, p. 60 ff.

[118] See especially Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, passim.

right way, although we may now hold different views with regard to the importance of the element of ecstasy proper.

The texts being silent on ecstasy proper, V. Henry,[119] criticizing Oldenberg's theory, argued that "l'approche des dieux est omineuse: aussi le sacrifiant se prémunit-il contre elle (this is to a certain extent or from a certain point of view right) en devenant lui-même, par la dīkṣā "l'un des divinités"; mais comment la dīkṣā lui confère-t-elle cet exorbitant privilège, sinon précisément – son rituel en fait foi – en accumulant en lui la plus grande somme possible de cette chaleur qui est l'attribut insigne des personnages thermiques que sont les dieux supérieurs?" and made a – not completely convincing – attempt to explain the dīkṣā on the basis of the fact that 'heat' is a 'principle of life'. This view, which in itself is disputable, stands or falls with the acceptability of the 'original sense' of dīkṣā.

The theory of the Vedic dīkṣā suggested by Hillebrandt[120] has rightly been criticized by Keith[121] and other scholars. Relying on the etymological explication '*dīkṣā-* "the wish to burn" (*dah-*)' he assumed that this ceremony originally was a voluntary death by fire in order to attain heavenly abodes, as is attested in cases such as the suicide by fire of Kalanos which is recorded by Greek writers. It should be repeated that the in itself ambiguous etymology of the term is indeed no safe basis for a semantic and historical argument.[122] It cannot be denied that Hillebrandt overlooked

[119] Henry, *Physique védique*, (see above), p. 404 ff., esp. p. 349 ff.

[120] A. Hillebrandt, *Der freiwillige Feuertod in Indien und die Somaweihe* (Academy München, 1917); *Vedische Mythologie*, II, p. 349 ff.; *Rituallliteratur*, p. 125.

[121] Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 302 f. See also Oldenberg, in *Z.D.M.G.* 49, 172 ff.; *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1917, 6, p. 331 ff.; *Religion des Veda*, *l.c.*

[122] The reader may for the sake of brevity be referred to H. Güntert, *I.F.* 30, p. 98 ff.; A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins*, II (Paris, 1956), p. 737 f.; J. Charpentier, *Die Desiderativbildungen der indoiran. Sprachen* (Upsala, 1912), p. 67 f.; M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgef. etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, II (Heidelberg, 1957-,) p. 44. Whereas scholars are agreed in considering the term a desiderative formation (L. Renou, *Grammaire védique*, Lyon, 1952, p. 151), they are at variance with regard to its original sense and the root from which it derives. The connection with *dāśati* (*dāśnoti*) "to serve or honour a god, to offer etc." preferred by Mayrhofer does not tally well with the sense of *dīkṣā-* and the function of this institution; etymologies should not be build on rough attempts to give a vague and general idea of the meaning of a word. The interpretation as "rite d'échauffement" (the root *dah-*) which is in Minard's eyes worth considering (cf. Renou, *J.A.* 243 (1955), p. 422, n. 3) is not convincing because *dah-* means "to burn, scorch, consume by fire; to destroy completely etc."; although the combination with *tapaḥ* may point in this direction, the ideas expressed by *tap-* and *dah-* are different (see further on). I for one would for the time being consider deriving *dīkṣ-* from the root *dek̂-* (A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen*, I, Berlin-Leipzig, 1930, p. 782 ff.; J. Pokorny, *Idg. etym. Wörterbuch*, Bern, 1947-, p. 189 ff.; cf. also Güntert, *l.c.*) in the sense represented by Lat. *decet* "it beseems, is fitting,

the difference in meaning between the roots *tap-* "to give out heat; make hot" and *dah-* "to burn, consume by fire".[123] "Zur Bedeutung sei bemerkt, dass ich allerdings der dīkṣā, als unter die Kategorie des tapas fallend, das Moment der inneren Erhitzung vindicire, damit glaube ich aber noch nicht in den Bannkreis der Wurzel *dah-* zu geraten. Es ist eben ein Unterschied zwischen Selbsterhitzung und Selbstverbrennung ...".[124] This difficulty is, indeed, not smoothed over by a reference to the weaker 'metaphorical' use of *dah-* "to torment, pain, distress, grieve, disturb".[125]

In connection with the association of the ideas tapas and dīkṣā attention may be drawn to the following places: in AV. 19, 43, 1-8 Agni, Vāyu and other gods are implored to conduct the man speaking to that 'place' or 'goal' to which "the brahman-knowers (*brahmavidaḥ*) go along with consecration and 'asceticism' (*dīkṣayā tapasā saha*)". The sense must be that those who by means of dīkṣā *and* tapas have succeeded in gaining that highest knowledge which leads to heaven are, when they 'arrive' there, 'accompanied by' these. That is to say: they enter heaven in a state of asceticism *and* consecration. The gods are, in these stanzas, implored to further the attempts of the man addressing them successfully to imitate the ṛṣis by imparting to him wisdom, breaths, sight and other faculties.[126]

In AV. 19, 40, 3 *dīkṣā-* combines with *medhā-* "wisdom"[127] and *tapas-*, the gods being requested not to injure these. Hauer's[128] remark – the medhā is gained by dīkṣā and tapas – may be right; this dīkṣā does not,

proper"; *dignus* "worthy, suitable, fitting, becoming, proper"; MIr. *dech* "the best' most excellent" ('basic sense' "gut passend, geeignet, als annehmbar darstellen, würdig sein"). A semantic basis "the wish to make oneself worthy, better, fitting, acceptable" would not be out of tune with the sense of the term *dikṣā-*.

[123] It is true that KB. 7, 3 "he who is consecrating himself consecrates himself as Agni; in that others do not utter his name, (it is because they think), 'Let us not sit down in Agni'" may create the impression that dīkṣā is, so to say, blazing or burning fire. However, from ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 21 it appears that the yajamāna as such is Agni. This god is moreover the friend, leader, protector, father, brother etc. of the sacrificers (ṚV. 1,26, 3; 5; 2,8,2; 3,1,15; 4,4,10 etc.).

[124] Oldenberg, in *Z.D.M.G.* 49, p. 176.

[125] Recently the difference between *tap-* and *dah-* in the Veda has been formulated as follows: "*dah-* ... has a very concrete meaning, and its effect on things is to destroy or to leave a black trail. Its effect is objectively observed. But the meaning of *tap-*, on the other hand, is concrete only in that it carries with it a connotation of the physical feeling of heat and this feeling is 'concrete' to the person who feels it. Its effect is subjective" (Blair, *Heat in the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda*, p. 89).

[126] According to the formulation given by M. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-veda and the Gopatha-brāhmaṇa* (Strassburg, 1899), p. 79 these stanzas are prayers for *brahma* "spiritual elevation" and *dīkṣā* "consecration".

[127] See e.g. *The vision of the Vedic poets* ('s-Gravenhage, 1963), p. 104.

[128] Hauer, *o.c.*, p. 67.

however, appear to be associated with a śrauta rite. These statements are corroborated by 19, 41, 1 (cf. TS. 5, 7, 4, 3) *bhadram ichanta ṛṣayaḥ svarvidas tapo dīkṣām upaniṣedur agre / tato rāṣṭraṃ balam ojaś ca jātaṃ tad asmai devā upasaṃnayantu* "desiring happiness the heaven-finding seers practised, in the beginning, 'austerity' and 'consecration'; thence royalty, strength and creative power came into existence; let the gods make that submissive to this man". That is to say, the primeval ṛṣis who wished to find heaven and happiness succeeded by practising tapas and dīkṣā; in performing these some important powers or institutions were a useful by-product.[129]

As far as I am able to see these places do not suggest that the 'idea' of dīkṣā can be explained as a sort of tapas or even that both 'ideas' are identical, as may be concluded from Oldenberg's[130] words: "Das Wesentliche und Entscheidende aber ist ..., dass die Dīkṣā ... ausdrücklich für ein Tapas (Kasteiung) erklärt wird". They only show that both 'ideas' are co-ordinated[131] and, so to say, considered to cooperate.[132]

I fail to see that VS. 4, 2 and 7 *dīkṣātapasos tanūr asi* and *dīkṣāyai tapase 'gnaye svāhā* can be adduced to show that dīkṣā and tapas are identical, the formulas meaning "thou art the form (manifestation) of consecration and austerity" and "hail to consecration, austerity, Agni". When in ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 5 – another place quoted by Oldenberg – the dīkṣā is called the womb of asceticism these two concepts are clearly distinct. The meaning obviously is "dīkṣā engenders or leads to 'asceticism'" or something to that effect. Nor can ĀśvŚS. 4, 2, 3 *agniś ca viṣṇo tapa uttamaṃ maho dīkṣāpālāya vanataṃ hi śakrā* serve to demonstrate the identity of tapas and dīkṣā. Even ĀpŚS. 10, 12, 3 cannot prove this identity, because the man who undergoes a dīkṣā has more to do than perform tapas. Austerity (tapas) was, it is true, not only obligatory for ecstatics and life-long ascetics, although Eliade[133] goes no doubt too far in saying,

[129] That semi-divine beings were also supposed to undergo dīkṣā may appear from AV. 10,10,12 and 17.

[130] Oldenberg, *o.c.*, p. 401.

[131] "Dans l'AV. le mot (*dīkṣā*) avoisine volontiers *tapas* pour désigner un état préparatoire de l'accès au monde sacré; *tapas* est fréquent avec cette même valeur: 8,9,3 ce mot équivaut au *dhyāna* classique, notant une sorte de connaissance visionnaire; 10, 7, 11 il est dit que, poussé à bout (*parākramya*), le *tapas* renforce l'observance votive (*vrata*) ..." (Renou, in *J.A.* 243, p. 422, n. 3). – The co-ordination of the concepts appears also from their forming a dvandva-compound, e.g. TS. 6, 1, 1, 2 *dīkṣātapasī* ("the Aṅgirases going to the world of heaven placed in the waters consecration and austerity"); MS. 1,9,2 etc.

[132] Cf. also Eliade, *Le yoga, immortalité et liberté* (Paris, 1954), p. 118.

[133] M. Eliade, *Le Chamanisme* (Paris, 1951), p. 371.

that "l'ascèse à but extatique fait nécessairement partie de la vie religieuse du peuple indien entier". It is however right that any householder – not only a brahman – who could afford to institute a soma sacrifice had to undertake the dīkṣā, and also that "la dīkṣā comporte la veillée ascétique, la méditation dans le silence, le jeûne, et aussi la 'chaleur', le tapas". TB. 2, 7, 17 may likewise be adduced to show the difference between tapas and dīkṣā. In these mantras which were to accompany the ritual hair-cutting it reads, on the one hand, that "not without the brahman power is there a cessation of tapas" and on the other that the dīkṣā has two names, the commanding (*vaśinī-*) and the mighty (*ugrā-*); the former is said to have released the person addressed.

The importance attached to the idea is also apparent in AV. 12, 1, 1 where *satyam, ṛtam, dīkṣā, tapas, brahman* and *yajñam*, i.e. a combination of the highest principles and potencies are said to sustain the earth. The meaning of these words no doubt is that for this purpose the maintenance of these power-concepts – as far as possible through the correct moral and ritual behaviour of men – is essential.

The hypothesis of 'central Asiatic' influences might also be viewed against the background of the numerous parallels between, and migrations of, cultural elements in the Eurasian continent. If it is probable, as many scholars have pointed out, that a number of cosmogonic, mythological and *weltanschauliche* motifs are distributed in the ancient Near East, in Central Asia, in ancient Greece, in the East of Europe etc. in such a way that the hypothesis of migration and of complicated proto- and pre-historic connections is unavoidable,[134] it would be ill-advised to deny the possibility of ritual loans and borrowings.

The highly subjective and speculative article devoted by Przyluski[135] to the people of the Salvas, the śarabha (a kind of deer and often a fabulous animal) and the legends connected with it, the golden deer and the cakravartin, contains, by way of appendix, some remarks on the origin of the Vedic dīkṣā, which is incorrectly defined as "une épreuve".[136] Starting from the thesis that "la dīkṣā était primitivement destinée à faire de celui qui s'y soumettait l'égal des dieux supérieurs" and rightly noticing certain

[134] F. R. Schröder, "Germanische Schöpfungsmythen; eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Studie", in *Germ.-roman. Monatsschrift* 19 (1931), p. 1 ff.; 81 ff.; W. Ruben, "Schamanismus im alten Indien", *A.O.* 18 (Leiden, 1940), p. 164 ff., esp. 204, arrives at the conclusion: "Der Schamanismus muss also mit einer prähistorischen Kulturwelle aus Innerasien nach Indien gekommen sein; diese hat mit den bekannten drei Komponenten Indiens: Ārya, Dravida und Munda nichts zu tun".

[135] J. Przyluski, "Un ancien peuple du Penjab: les Salva", *J.A.* 214 (1929), p. 311 f.

[136] Przyluski, *o.c.*, p. 349 f.

analogies between the dīkṣā and the ceremony of the royal consecration, this scholar saw another parallel in the religious ideas of the non-Aryan peoples of the Penjab, who believe that the śarabha changed into a golden deer, which is a manifestation of the highest god and an incarnation of the divine king. Przyluski's conclusion that both apotheoses, viz. the dīkṣā as well as the royal consecration, "changent un mortel ... en un cervidé chaleureux afin de l'égaler au soleil" is far from cogent. His view that the dīkṣā "identifie le fidèle au soleil (et) représente la vie du śarabha embryonnaire prêt à renaître avant son ascension dans la lumière" and the suggestion that the dīkṣā ceremony originated in Munda circles, do not compel belief, first because the analogy is only of a vague and general character and in the second place because the idea of so-called deification is found in Indo-European[137] as well as non-Indo-European civilizations. Moreover, he neither adduces arguments for the identification of the dīkṣita with the sun, nor proves the historical connections with the śarabha motif. That the first act of the great liturgical drama which according to this scholar was at the root of dīkṣā and royal consecration "était sans doute la veillée préparatoire à la chasse royale (qui) paraît s'être transformé en une épreuve préliminaire au sacrifice de soma" cannot in my opinion be proved. What might be retained from the facts collected and the suggestions made in Przyluski's article is this: the dīkṣā as well as the śarabha theme attest to the early and widespread existence of the idea of "deification" in India. Being typologically or phenomenologically similar they may be, but need not be, genetically related. The belief in, and rites or myths connected with, 'divinization' among different peoples of pre- or proto-historic India may have contributed to the occurrence and spread of the dīkṣā ceremonies in the Vedic and Hindu cultures. We may even go so far as to reckon with the possibility that originally Aryan practices have been considerably transformed by 'indigenous' customs and beliefs.

It is indeed highly probable in view of the spread of these rites in various parts of the globe[138] that the socio-religious customs of the non-Aryan tribes of India included, in Vedic times, also rites and ceremonies which may be called initiatory. Initiation ceremonies signifying the acceptance of young men as full-fledged members of their tribes, or some proof of

[137] Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 506 f.; S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 43; 115; 265.

[138] See e.g. W. J. Goode, *Religion among the primitives* (Glencoe Ill., 1951), passim; R. Thurnwald, *Des Menschengeistes Erwachen, Wachsen und Irren* (Berlin, 1951), p. 365 ff.

their attainment of social and physical maturity[139] are until the present day a well-known feature of religious life. So is the initiation of magicians.[140] the formal preparation of which resembles in its main features the ritual of the 'Jugendweihe'[141] – "die 'Priesterweihe' der Toda vergleicht sich wie vielerorts der Mannbarkeitsfeier (in den Wald gehen, rituelle Nackheit usw.)".[142] It is even possible that not rarely these rites consisted in "a simulation of death or resurrection"[143] or rather in effectuating the aspirant's new birth.[144] Thus among the Baiga, an aboriginal tribe in the centre of India, the chief feature of initiation into the secret 'art of magic' is a rite by which a disciple absorbs physically a portion of the master's occult power.[145] The Angami Nagas are convinced that those who institute a high-class initiatory function succeed in gaining, after death, access to the heavenly regions of the divine Urmutter.[146] It is interesting to recall also a procedure put into practice by the shamans of the Vedda communities in training their pupils and successors.[147] Sometimes master and pupil live in a special hut, from which women, being considered unclean, are excluded. The youth learns the invocations by which the powers ("ghosts") are addressed, and the methods of approaching them with food offerings. Whereas these practices tally with the rules observed in the Aryan initiation ceremonies, the regulation that no one, however well trained, is regarded as the 'official shaman' of a community during his teacher's lifetime, may be considered a counterpart of the high status and respect enjoyed by the guru.

As already observed in another chapter of this volume initiations were not absent in the Dravidian culture of the South; they were, however, different from the brahmanical dīkṣā.[148]

139 T. C. Hodson, *The Nāga tribes of Manipur* (London, 1911), p. 77.
140 H. Webster, *Magic* (Stanford Cal., 1948), p. 221 ff.
141 See also L. Lévy-Brühl, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* (Paris⁹, 1928), p. 417, and compare p. 233.
142 G. Buschan, *Die Völker Asiens, Australiens und der Südseeinseln* (Berlin w.y.), p. 547.
143 J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed. (London, 1957), p. 906 (with undue emphasis on Totemism).
144 Cf. Thurnwald, "Primitive Initiations- und Wiedergeburtsriten", *Eranos Jahrbuch für 1939* (Zürich, 1940), p. 321 ff.; esp. 392; 396 f.; E. Hillebrand, *Die Geheimbünde Westafrikas als Problem der Religionswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1937), p. 133 ff.
145 For particulars see V. Elwin, *The Baiga* (London, 1939), p. 343.
146 J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Naga* (London, 1921), p. 180 f.; 185; 260 ff.; 348 f. For more or less striking ethnological parallels Koppers, in "Die Indogermanen- und Germanenfrage", *W.B.K.L.* 4 (Salzburg, 1936), p. 333.
147 C. G. Seligman and B. J. Seligman, *The Veddas* (Cambridge, 1911), p. 125 ff.
148 For some particulars see e.g. W. Th. Elmore, *Dravidian gods in modern Hinduism, a study of the local and village deities of S. India* (Univ. of Nebraska Lincoln, 1915), p. 29.

India and South-East Asia are, it is true, not so well known for the occurrence of secret societies[149] as Melanesia and West Africa, yet it has sometimes been taken for granted that certain Śivaite, Tantric and Lamaist rites in India as well as Tibet have, like the ancient Greek mysteries, their origin in this institution.[150] Secret societies having the performance of ritual as one of their chief functions, are, generally speaking, not only concerned with the furtherance of fertility and success in war or with the act of curing and healing, but also the imparting of salutary secrets and initiations, the transmission of supra-normal power to their members, by which they may not only acquire wealth, happiness or uncommon abilities, but at least in some cases, also personal salvation.[151] Their esoteric teachings are in part of their contents in agreement with the popular beliefs of the community to which they belong.[152] There is however room for the observation that some form of initiation may also be required if a person wishes to be received into a 'non-secret' community.[153] Thus a Kachári (Assam) who wishes to become a member of the Rábhá sub-tribe has to pass through a somewhat elaborate initiation ceremony.[154] Any reception of a new member into a group may have required some form of initiation.

Whereas the initiatory rites of many modern Indian communities have been clearly influenced by the 'Sanskrit' tradition[155] of Hinduism,[156] it is in other cases difficult to decide how far the process has taken place or how far the relative customs of non-Aryan peoples are survivals of practices which may have influenced and remodelled originally Aryan ceremonies. Those who, e.g. among the Santals, wish to learn earnestly and seriously the art of the *ojha* (diviner, magician, spirit doctor etc.) have to undergo an initiation (*sid*) after the learning proper is over, this ceremony constit-

149 See also K. Birket-Smith, *Geschichte der Kultur* (1946), p. 296 ff.
150 Cf. Birket-Smith, *o.c.*, p. 296; Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, p. 23 ff.
151 "Die Aussenstehenden sind im Männerhaus der Suque (Neue Hebriden) nur geduldet und gelten als ohne 'Mana', Ihre 'Seele' gilt als ohne Lebenskraft im Jenseits" (Thurnwald, *o.c.*, p. 366).
152 F. Boas, *General Anthropology* (Boston, 1938), p. 621 f.
153 For a 'natural' and uncomplicated, yet institutionalized initiatory procedure see e.g. L. P. Vidyarthi, *The Maler, a study in nature-man-spirit complex of a hill tribe in Bihar* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 124: "As he (a Maler boy) attains an age of about six years, he is informally initiated to the life of the youth dormitory ... Through the games of his playmates he learns the likes and dislikes of his society, ... the traditions and customs, the value-attitude system, the ideals and aspirations of his community. In this way he is informally socialized, and by the time he attains adulthood ... he becomes an integral part of his community ...".
154 S. Endle, *The Kacháris* (London, 1911), p. 84.
155 See *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 16; 72.
156 C. G. Diehl, *Instrument and purpose* (Lund, 1956) p. 186.

uting an essential part of their training.[157] To become an ojha – both professional and amateur – one has to be a disciple under an expert ojha who transmits the traditional knowledge of mantras etc. and proficiency in the art of curing and healing etc. Only a minority of an ojha's pupils request their guru for the sid which is given in the course of a sacrificial function. Contact with the divine requiring a condition of purity, a ritual bath or similar acts which alter the subject's ritual status, making him fit to pray or to be possessed by a deity may to a certain extent be regarded as a consecration. Thus a man, irrespective of the caste to which he belongs, is e.g. by the Coorgs[158] supposed to be in a condition of ritual purity while praying or sacrificing to a deity or ancestor, when he has performed a series of ritual actions like taking a bath and wearing ritually pure clothes.

Attention has also been drawn to another curious detail, the demonstrative force of which seems however to be rather slight. In performing an initiatory ceremony the Lhota Naga places pebbles in the form of miniature hearths in the semi-circular front side of the house, "a piece of ceremonial for which the Lhotas can give no reason";[159] Koppers is inclined to assume a connection with the construction of a new hearth as a part of the Aśvamedha ceremonials.[160] The coincidence may in my opinion be as well due to an 'ethnologic parallel' (Elementarverwandtschaft), the more so as the establishment of a new fire under comparable circumstances is – as remarked by Koppers himself – not foreign to other cultures.[161]

Koppers[162] did not hesitate to draw the conclusion that "diese Art Initiation" – i.e. dīkṣā, esp. in connection with the great royal sacrificial functions (Aśvamedha etc.) – must be reckoned to the "southern elements", i.e. due to the cultural influence of the substratum, and "das um so mehr, weil den ursprünglichen Hirtenvölkern die Initiation im engeren und eigentlichen Sinne fehlt". It would appear to me that this conclusion was hasty and did not take into account other evidence and other possibilities. Nor am I convinced that the only alternative is the hypothesis that these types of 'initiation' and 'consecration' are completely Indo-

157 P. C. Biswas, *Santals of the Santal parganas* (Delhi, 1956), p. 123 ff.
158 See M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and society among the Coorgs of South India* (Oxford, 1952), p. 103.
159 J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Naga* (London, 1922), p. 139.
160 Koppers, *o.c.*, p. 334.
161 See e.g. F. Speiser, *Ethnographische Materialen aus den Neuen Hebriden* ...(Berlin, 1923), p. 400 f.
162 In W. Schmidt and W. Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen* (Regensburg, 1924), p. 215.

European in origin. They may have been influenced and remodelled during the long migrations of the ancestors of the Aryans before they reached India.

The absence of the dīkṣā from the Ṛgveda has, it is true, been made an argument in favour of the comparatively recent character of that institution. "Rien ne prouve que la cérémonie (de la dīkṣā) remonte réellement jusqu'au temps des Hymnes ...; on n'y rencontre ni dīkṣā, ni dīkṣita, ni aucun terme équivalent, ni allusions formelles à rien de semblable".[163] Nowadays, we know that the Ṛgveda does not reflect the entire Indian culture and all aspects of the Aryan life of its days and that we should therefore be careful in adducing the *argumentum e silentio*. This is not to say that the poets of the Ṛgveda were interested only in praising the gods, not in "Zaubergebräuchen, die sich mehr auf den Menschen als auf die Götter ... richteten",[164] but only to recall that the Ṛgveda is no śrautasūtra and that there have existed rites and practices on which that ancient corpus is silent. Barth was quite right in adding that "no doubt one did not begin or undertake sacrifices without some preparation or other" ("sans doute on ne les commençait pas sans s'y être préparé"). "On voit mal pourquoi elle (la dīkṣā) aurait fait défaut chez les Indiens védiques, puisque la mythologie et la technique de la sudation, d'ailleurs universellement répandues, sont attestées chez les Germains, chez les Scythes, chez les Iraniens".[165] While we may suppose the institution to have existed in the age of the Ṛgveda, we do not know what it was like.[166]

The striking parallel between the consecration of the ancient Indian royal sacrificer on the one hand and the ancient Irish royal consecration on the other[167] – the ancient Irish king has to be born anew[168]–, shows that some essential features of these initiatory and consecratory ceremonies may be considered to have been 'Indo-European', or, to express myself more cautiously, that certain principles, rudiments and tendencies

163 A. Barth, in *Journal des Savants* 1896, cited by Eliade, *Le Yoga*, p. 374.
164 Oldenberg, *o.c.*, p. 399 ff.
165 Eliade, *l.c.*
166 Cf. also L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Indo-européens et Indo-iraniens. L'Inde jusque vers 300 av. J.-C.* (Paris, 1936), p. 368, n. 1.
167 Schröder, *o.c.*; K. Meuli, "Scythica", in *Hermes, Zs. f. klass. Philologie* 70 (1935), p. 121 ff.
168 See also M. Draak in *Atti dell' VIII congresso intern. di storia delle Religioni* (Roma, 1955), p. 375 and, especially, the same, in *Contributions to the VIIIth Congress for the History of Religions* 1955, p. 651 ff. Other points of interest are that Irish kings had to marry their parts of Ireland (in India the realm is the king's 'mystic' wife), and that they, like their Indian colleague, had to promote the fertility of their kingdom by right conduct and observances.

to undergo, at critical moments, initiations of this type were not foreign to the Indo-European socio-religious tradition. As already stated some scholars have also drawn attention to the similarity existing between the Indian tapas and rebirth motives and the sweating motif of the ancient Germans and Iranians.[169] The Iranian initiation rites (and their possible Indo-European beginnings), which while showing interesting parallels to the Indian upanayana may lead us to the conclusion that there existed already in the Indo-Iranian period initiation ceremonies and 'consecratory' rites comprising at least some of the most essential elements of the Indian ceremonies, have already been discussed in one of the preceding chapters of this volume.[170]

C. AN ANALYSIS OF THE VEDIC SOMA DĪKṢĀ

As already stated, several scholars have thus far supposed the Vedic dīkṣā to be a comparatively late addendum or insertion in the *corpus rituale*. In discussing this point they made the non-specific character of the mantras an important argument.[171] The question may however arise whether the solution of the problem as suggested for instance by Koppers is the only hypothesis worth considering. The dīkṣā may – possibly or even probably under the influence of non-Aryan circles – have developed in marginal or at least non-brahmanised Aryan communities from rudimentary or at least less complicated preparatory or initiatory rites performed by those who were ritually to come into contact with the divine powers. That part of the accompanying mantras should have been borrowed from gṛhya- and other ritual[172] is, in view of the greater antiquity of many elements of the latter[173] and the secondary character of various śrauta rites[174] as described in the sūtras, not surprising. What we should like to know is

[169] See also Koppers, *o.c.*, p. 325; 334; S. Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund* (Lund, 1938) does not contribute much to the solution of the problem under consideration.
[170] See p. 265.
[171] Oldenberg, *Religion der Veda*³, p. 406: "Es befremdet allerdings, dass diese in den Brāhmaṇa-Texten durchgehend herrschende Auffassung der Dīkṣā nicht auch in den Sprüchen selbst zum Ausdruck kommt, mit denen sie vollzogen wird"; Lommel, *o.c.*, p. 108.
[172] As will appear from the following pages Lommel's statement overshoots the mark: "Die bei der Dīkṣā gebrauchten Yajurveda-Sprüche sind aber für diesen Ritus wenig bezeichnend" (*o.c.*, p. 108).
[173] One should not mistake the date of the codification for the age of ritual practices themselves.
[174] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 139; 144; J. C. Heesterman recently argued that the vrātyas' relation to brahmanical ritual is not one of antithesis but of precedence in development, their rites being the crude predecessors of the śrauta ritual (*I.I.J.* 6, p. 36).

the genesis of rites such as the dīkṣā in full detail. In order to unravel the prehistoric development of the dīkṣā and to gain an insight into its structure and composition a more close examination of the mantras used and the ritual acts performed during its execution is a necessity.

Generally speaking the formulas are, it is true, appropriate to the particular occasions, but by no means always typical of the dīkṣā as such. Thus the first formula "may the waters wet him for life, for length of days, for illustriousness" (*āpa undantu jīvase dīrghāyutvāya varcase*) belongs to the mantras accompanying the rites called cūḍākarman, "the tonsure of a child's head" (ĀśvGS. 1, 17, 7; HGS. 2, 6, 6; MGS. 1, 21, 3; ŚGS. 1, 28, 9). Moreover, it is HGS. 1, 9, 12 prescribed during the rite of samāvartana, i.e. the return home of a Veda student, which also comprises a ceremony with the youth's side-hair. The other formulas used in the ceremony of the shaving of the whiskers of the sacrificer are "O plant, protect him" (*oṣadhe trāyasvainam*[175]), occurring in the same gṛhya context, but also, in an intelligible way, in other śrauta-rites. Thus the words "may the waters wet him", which in the gṛhya texts are quoted under the heading cūḍakarman, may have found their way into the ritual of the śrauta dīkṣā by the 'intermediary' of the godāna, the ceremony of shaving a boy's beard when he is in his sixteenth year or when he is going to study the ritual of the agnicayana "the construction of the fire place".[176] Now the godāna is performed with the same ceremonial as the cūḍākarman – this is e.g. ĀśvGS. 1, 18, 1; MGS. 1, 21, 13 explicitly stated – and often dealt with in connection with this, the texts substituting the word "beard" for "hair". So far the godāna is a sort of duplicate rite. Some texts (KGS. 44, 1-4 and VGS. 9, 1-5) on the other hand deal with the godāna separately, after or before – that is in any case in close connection with – the study of the agnicayana. Moreover, the followers of the Sāmaveda connected the godāna with their system of vratas, the ceremony enabling the student to study the Pūrvārcika of the Sāmaveda.[177] As shown by Dresden[178] this statement does not only hold good for the Sāmavedins. As already

[175] For particulars see Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 12.
[176] A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur* (Strassburg, 1897), § 23, p. 50; M. J. Dresden, *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1941), p. 92 f. – Recently, R. Gopal, "Influence of the brāhmaṇas on the gṛhya sūtras, *Vishv. Indol. Journal*, 1 (Hoshiarpur, 1963), p. 296 f. expressed the opinion that the cūḍākarman of the gṛhyasūtras seems to have developed "on the pattern of the tonsorial ceremony of the sacrificer described in the brāmaṇas, for there are many striking similarities between the two". If this opinion is based on the consideration that gṛhyasūtras are, generally speaking, later than brāhmaṇas, I would observe that rites described in the former may be older than the latter.
[177] Oldenberg, in *Sacred Books of the East*, 30, p. 69 on GGS. 3,1,1.
[178] Dresden, *o.c.*, p. 93.

observed HGS. 1, 9, 12 prescibes the above formula also in connection with the samāvartana. This is not all. The variant *āpa undantu varcasā* (*varcase*) occurring in the description of the cūḍākarman (ĀśvGS. 1, 17, 7) forms part (viz. st. 2b) of a text of three stanzas known as AV. 6, 68. This text, which was clearly intended to accompany the act of shaving, is KauśS. 53, 17ff. used in the godāna ceremony and also 55, 2 at the beginning of the upanayana ceremony with the direction "do as directed in the text". As is well known the upanayana begins with shaving, bathing and adorning the youth. AV. 6, 68 is therefore a collection of formulas recited in certain circles on two similar occasions. Besides, the text is in part found in various gṛhyasūtras to accompany different stages of the cūḍākarman. It therefore appears that there existed various mantras and collections of mantras accompanying similar occasions, viz. tonsure and shaving. It is only natural to find them also in the directions concerning the dīkṣā. They were indeed fit to accompany any ritual shaving and hair-cutting.

The formula prescribed in MŚS. 2, 1, 1, 21 "O ye sweet waters, goddesses, purify me, that am sweet, for the worship of the gods" is MS. 1, 2, 1: 9, 7. It is also used in the so-called antarakalpa: MGS. 1, 5, 4.[179]

Passing mention must in this connection also be made of TS. 1, 2, 1, 1c (cf. MS. 3, 6, 2: 61, 3) *svadhite mainaṃ hiṃsīḥ*, a formula which, belonging to those used in the shaving ceremony, induced Lommel[180] – translating like Keith,[181] "axe, hurt him not" – to conclude to the secondary, non-original character of this part of the dīkṣā ritual. According to the German scholar the custom described ĀpŚS. 7, 2, 4, etc.[182] ("wenn ein Baum gefällt wird, aus dem der Opferpfosten zugehauen werden soll, so darf dem Baum, der einen heiligen Gegenstand abgeben soll, kein Leid geschehen") has been the example followed by those who created the dīkṣā rites. Although I would not generally disprove a supposition that in part of the cases it is not the gṛhya ritual proper from which a particular use of a mantra has been borrowed and although in other cases a transference of ritual application as supposed by Lommel is probable or beyond doubt, it is clear that in this case his thesis stands or falls with the meaning of the word *svadhiti-*.[183] The meaning "axe" or "axe-like instrument"[184] does

[179] See Dresden, *o.c.*, p. 191.
[180] Lommel, *o.c.*, p. 108.
[181] A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School* (Cambridge Mass., 1914), p. 19.
[182] See further on.
[183] For which see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 492; G. Liebert, *Das Nominalsuffix -ti- im Altindischen, Lund* (1949), p. 186 f.
[184] Not rarely the context does not allow us to draw any conclusions as to form and size of the tool.

indeed occur (e.g. ṚV. 3, 8, 6; 11), but elsewhere a *svadhiti-* is a slaughtering-knife (e.g. ṚV. 1, 162, 9; 18; 20), a copper knife used to mark the ears of cattle (AV. 6, 141, 2)[185] – and here "axe" can hardly be the meaning –, a carpenter's tool (AV. 12, 3, 33). The word may therefore have denoted a great axe-like knife used for various ritual purposes.[186] Its occurrence in ritual formulas is limited to the dīkṣā, the felling of a tree destined to be a sacrificial post (cf. e.g. MS. 3, 9, 2: 115, 18) and the dissection of the sacrificial animal.[187] Its use is motivated (TS. 6, 3, 3, 2) by the remark that the *svadhiti-* is the vajra, so that the formula serves for atonement (*śānti-*); "the brilliant energy" (*tejas*) of the tree which fears the axe falls away with the first chip; he should take up the first chip which falls; verily he takes it up with its tejas (cf. ŚB. 3, 6, 4, 10) and ibid. 6, 3, 9, 1 (MS. 1, 2, 16; KS. 26, 3 etc.) in connection with the victim, again by the comment: "the axe is a thunderbolt; it serves for atonement" (cf. ŚB. 3, 82, 12) "for the knife is a thunderbolt, and thus that thunderbolt, the knife, does not injure it".[188] The same explication is furnished by ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 7 in commenting upon the dīkṣā ceremony. This act also is merely ritual: "er fängt die Handlung des Scherens in ritueller Weise an, der Barbier verrichtet das eigentliche Scheren".[189] The three occasions on which the mantra is prescribed have one thing in common: tree, victim and yajamāna are sacred, consecrated and should therefore remain whole and unhurt. Therefore in all three cases (a) grass blade(s) is (are) placed between knife and object to be cut. I cannot share Lommel's conviction

[185] Cf. Whitney-Lanman, *Atharvaveda-veda Saṃhitā*, p. 386 f.; K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien* (Stuttgart, 1897), II, p. 159.
[186] "Blade-axes of very simple form appear to have been used for a number of purposes..." (E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilizations*, London, 1948, p. 95); "Dabei braucht nicht geleugnet zu werden, dass jene prähistorischen Flintmesser (*kṣura-*: ξυρόν) auch zum Abnehmen des Bartes verwendet werden konnten" (O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* II², p. 61). In connection with the ritual felling of the tree Caland (*Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, Göttingen, 1921, p. 225) remarked: "Diese Handlung (the first cutting of the blade of sacred grass which is held or placed against the tree where he is about to strike it, so as first to cut the grass) wird wohl vom Adhvaryu verrichtet, während das eigentliche Fällen vom Zimmermann vollzogen wird". This supposition is borne out by MŚS. 1,8,1,7 ff. – For prehistoric Indian flat axes, chisels, knives, razors, etc. see e.g. D. H. Gordon, *The pre-historic background of Indian culture* (Bombay, 1958), Index. For razors and shaving in protohistoric times: E. J. H. Mackay, *Further excavations at Mohenjo-Daro* (New Delhi, 1938), I, p. 468; S. K. Dikshit, *An introduction to archaeology* (Bombay-Calcutta, 1955), p. 376 ff.
[187] See also ĀpŚS. 7,18,12.
[188] Eggeling's translation, in *The sacred boods of the East*, 26, p. 193.
[189] Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II (Amsterdam Academy, 1924), p. 130. Cf. the above note 186.

that the ceremony in connection with the tree must be regarded as original. His second argument, the use of the pronoun *enam* in the formula, which (he holds) originally applied to the tree, is refuted by ĀpŚS. 10, 5, 8 and 10 where the words are pronounced by the adhvaryu, to be repeated, in a modified form (pronoun of the first person) by the sacrificer himself.[190] The above ritual use of the grass blades and the formula is, however, also mentioned in some gṛhyasūtras as part of the cūḍākaraṇa, the ritual hair-cutting of a child:[191] ĀśvGS. 1, 17, 9; GGS. 2, 9, 15; HGS. 2, 6, 8; MGS. 1, 21, 5[192] etc. Furthermore HGS. 1, 9, 14 prescribes ritual act and formula also for the samāvartana shaving; KauśS. 44, 30 as part of the vaśāśamana rite;[193] 92, 18 the same text uses the mantra to accompany the offering of a knife (arghya ceremonies). – The conclusion seems therefore to be that these words are so closely connected with the ritual use of a knife under the circumstances described that they simply could not be omitted in the dīkṣā. Whatever their original function, here also the cūḍākaraṇa provides us with a parallel.

The stanza accompanying the bathing of the sacrificer "let the waters .... purify us" has also other applications. In ĀśvŚS. 6, 13, 11 and ŚŚS. 4, 15, 4 it forms as ṚV. 10, 17, 10 – where it refers to the deceased – part of the formulas to be recited during cremation: "having presented to the deceased a gift of water they step out of the water repeating these words...." They suit both contexts, and it seems difficult to decide which use is 'secondary'. As AV. 6, 51, 2 the words belong to a series of three stanzas which are KauśS. 25, 20; 21 prescribed in healing rites, and 41, 14 in a ceremony for producing rain. The *hiraṇyavarṇāḥ* mantra (MS. 1, 2, 1; ĀpSS. 10, 6, 1 etc.), invoking the favour of the waters, significantly appears also in the godāna ceremony (the shaving of the side-hair of a youth) to accompany the bathing after the shaving proper (KauśS. 54, 5); and, further, in the samāvartana rite after the final bath (MGS. 1, 2, 11); in the feet-washing of a guest (KauśS. 90, 9); in the marriage rites to accompany the sprinkling of the bride (MGS. 1, 10, 7); in the agnicayana to accompany the ritual acts for the kumbheṣṭakās (TS. 5, 6, 1, 1) etc. There is however room for the observation that the waters are in this stanza not only said to be the birthplace of mighty beings such as Indra or Savitar (there are variants[194]) but also to contain Agni as their embryo. Whatever

[190] See also Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 12.
[191] Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, p. 49.
[192] For the razor, "which is made of copper" see also MGS. 1,21,7.
[193] *vaśā gaur yā garbhaṃ na gṛhṇāti tasyā doṣaśamanārthaṃ pākayajñikaṃ tantram.*
[194] See M. Bloomfield, in *A.J.Ph.* 17, p. 403; Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 33.

the form of this mantra in other ritual connections, these allusions made them especially suited for the dīkṣā ceremony. According to MS. 3, 6, 2: 61, 11 the stanzas quoted ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 1 are to be pronounced by the adhvaryu, because the dīkṣita is an oblation (*haviḥ*) and an offering is only a right offering when it has been sprinkled or bathed with water (*yadā vai havir yajuṣā prokṣaty atha havir bhavati*). In MS. 3, 6, 2: 62, 2; KS. 23, 1: 73, 1 the anointment is equated to the sprinkling of ghee on an oblation. In this way the dīkṣita is made into an oblation (cf. also KB. 7, 3).[195] This idea fits in with the scheme of ritual rebirth because the oblation is to reach the sphere of the gods (e.g. RV. 1, 18, 8).

Attention may be drawn to the occurrence of different explications in the brāhmaṇas. Whereas the linen garment with which the adhvaryu is to cover the yajamāna (ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 4) is AiB. 1, 3, 15f., in accordance with the embryo: rebirth theory of this passage, homologized with the caul of the embryo, TS. 6, 1, 1, 3 teaches that the linen garment has Soma for its deity, so that the yajamāna now approaches Soma as his deity. The formulas pronounced by the yajamāna while accepting the garment (ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 5) point to a third interpretation: the garment is dīkṣā, tapas, brahman, kṣatra and ṛta and the yajamāna grasps dīkṣā with tapas, giving expression to his expectation that all his wishes will be fulfilled. On second thoughts these at first sight conflicting statements are not at all mutually exclusive. In ritual practice, a householder of rank undertook a dīkṣā and had a rite performed with the intention to attain definite worldly aims and aspirations (cf. e.g. ĀpŚS. 14, 1, 2 "who desires cattle, strength, offspring, the fulfilment of all wishes", VS. 4, 1 "crossing by means of ṛcas, sāmans and yajus-formulas we should like to rejoice in increase of wealth and forcing food", and PB. 6, 3, 2 "the other sacrifices are performed for the obtainment of one special desire, (but) the agniṣṭoma for the obtainment of all", and see Sāyaṇa's commentary: *ukthyena paśukāmo yajeta ṣoḍaśinā vīryakāmo yajeta vājapeyādhipatyakāmo yajeta*).[196] The sacrificer might however also have the intention to attain heaven (ĀpŚS. 10, 2, 1) – "the sacrificer is really intended to be born in the heavenly world" (ŚB. 7, 3, 1, 12) – that is undergo transformation so as to reach a higher state of existence. This 'deification' could on the other hand be interpreted as a ritual rebirth.

At this moment ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 5 has the yajamāna accept the linen gar-

[195] For blessing and consecration by means of water or oil, "Ölsalbung als eine der wesentlichsten Formen sakramentaler Kraftmitteilung" usw. see also Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 234 ff.
[196] See also Caland, *o.c.*, p. 123.

ment with the formulas TB. 3, 7, 7, 1 and 2 which do not occur elsewhere: *dīkṣāsi tapaso yoniḥ* "you are the consecration, the womb of 'austerity' ('asceticism')" (that is to say, the consecration is a *conditio sine qua non* for successful 'asceticism'); *tapo 'si brahmaṇo yoniḥ* "you are 'asceticism', the womb of brahman (which also means the brahmans collectively, the highest class in the Aryan society)"; *brahmāsi kṣatrasya yoniḥ* "you are the brahman, the womb of nobility" (see ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 12 "from out of the brahman order nobility is produced") *kṣatram asy ṛtasya yoniḥ* "you are nobility, the womb of ṛta" (i.e. the regular, right and true structure of all cosmic, mundane, human and ritual existence and happening)[197] *ṛtam asi* "you are ṛta" (this formula which here is followed by *bhūḥ* "earth" (a ritual utterance) occurs also TS. 1, 1, 9, 3; TB. 3, 2, 9, 12; ĀpŚS. 2, 3, 7 to accompany the tracing out of the vedi: "you are ṛta, you are the seat of ṛta...."; TS. 7, 1, 20, 1 to accompany an offering before the āptīs; see ĀpŚS. 20, 11, 7; and ĀpŚS. 16, 31, 1 while placing, in the agnicayana, bricks), etc. After the words *ṛtam asi bhūḥ* TB. continues: *śraddhāṃ manasā, dīkṣāṃ tapasā, viśvasya bhuvanasyādhipatnīm. sarve kāmā yajamānasya santu. vātaṃ prāṇāṃ manasānvārabhāmahe. prajāpatiṃ yo bhuvanasya gopāḥ. sa no mṛtyos trāyatāṃ pātv aṃhasaḥ.*

The words "you are the body of soma, guard my body" (TS. 1, 2, 1, 1g) accompany the putting on of the sacrificer's garment. The formula is bipartite, the first half occurring VS. 5, 1; ŚB. 3, 4, 1, 10 among the formulas for the ceremonial reception of soma when introduced into the sacrificial hall, the pronoun "you" referring to the material for offering. We find it however in another use HGS. 1, 10, 5, accompanying the "Neubekleidung des Gebadeten, die man als den zweiten Teil der ganzen Handlung betrachten kann".[198] The use as part of the dīkṣā formulas (see also ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 6) is explained TS. 6, 1, 1, 3 "he consecrates him with a garment; the linen garment has Soma for its deity. He who consecrates himself approaches Soma as his deity. In pronouncing the formula he invokes the blessing of his own deity". With regard to this point of agreement between dīkṣā and *Jugendweihe* it may be remembered that a new dress is a well-known element in transitional rites in general. "Es ist ein Mittel, 'Erneuerung zu bewirken' und das Eingehen in einen neuen Zustand zu markieren".[199] Hence also the elaborate directions with

[197] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 77 ff.
[198] Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 62.
[199] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 116 f.; Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, p. 62 (snātaka); p. 65 (marriage, and see e.g. MGS. 1,9,27); B. Bonnerjea, *L'ethnologie du Bengale*, Thesis (Paris, 1927), p. 84. "Let it be a new one, for the sake of unimpaired vigour" (ŚB. 3,1,2,19).

regard to the dress of a brahmacārin (e.g. ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 2, 39-1, 1, 3, 2), who had to wear two garments, one for the lower part of the body (*vāsas-*), another for covering the upper part (*uttarīya-*). The garment for a brahman, kṣatriya or vaiśya brahmacārin is respectively to be made of hemp, flax, or deerskin. "One should however wear only deerskin, if one desires the increase of Vedic lore, only cotton garments, if one desires the increase of martial valour" (ibid. 1, 1, 3, 9). Here also the conclusion seems to be warranted that the act as well as the formula may have belonged to an undifferentiated or 'general' initiatory ceremony, which as such included the putting on of a new dress. That Soma is concerned with initiation and it is therefore Soma's body which is invoked, may be explained from Soma's regenerative power and his ability to renew and lengthen life. Soma's protective qualities (see the mantra) are also apparent from passages such as ṚV. 9, 61, 10; 9, 62, 25 etc.

ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 6 adds a shorter variant of VS. 4, 2c *dīkṣātapasos tanūr asi, tāṃ tvā śivāṃ śagmāṃ paridadhe bhadraṃ varṇaṃ puṣyan* "you are a manifestation (and, "the covering") of dīkṣā and tapas (see above); I put you on, the kind and powerful, cultivating an excellent (fair, blessed, auspicious) outward appearance".[200] These words are not used in other rites. "Up to now", ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 20 explains, "his covering was that of the unconsecrated and his appearance was evil (*pāpa-*), but now he fosters a fair appearance". According to TS. 6, 1, 1, 3 f. the parts of the garment belong to Agni, Vāyu, the Fathers, the plants, the Ādityas, the All-gods and the nakṣatras (cf. ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 18). That is to say, these divine powers co-operate in producing the effect desired; "thus all the deities are concerned in it" (ŚB., l.c.). – ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 7-10 may be passed over without comment.

The next formulas, pronounced by the yajamāna whilst anointing himself with fresh butter, run as follows: "You are the milk of the great ones (i.e. the cows, see ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 9); you are the giver (or container of splendour (*varcaḥ*); place splendour in me" (see also VS. 4, 3; ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 9; MŚS. 2, 1, 1, 35; ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 11; 12). The first part of the formula occurs, in other rites, it is true, in connection with butter (or milk): VS. 1, 20; ŚB. 1, 2, 1, 22; ĀpŚS. 2, 6, 2; 7, 9, 2; 8, 2, 8; 6, 9; 15, 14, 3; ŚGS. 1, 8, 18. The use of these words is therefore perfectly clear, but they have in themselves nothing to do with the dīkṣā. They obviously could be pronounced whenever butter was used for ritual purposes. "Fresh butter", TS. 6, 1, 1, 5 observes, "is connected with all the gods; verily in anointing with

[200] Cf. also KŚS. 7,2,19 *vicitakeśaṃ prasāritadaśaṃ dīkṣātapasor iti.*

fresh butter he propitiates all the gods. The man who is consecrated has fallen from this world and yet not gone to the world of the gods; fresh butter is as it were midway ...". For the following passage and the ritual directions (ĀpŚS. 10, 7, 1 ff.) it however appears that this part of the ceremony is also intended to secure the visual faculty of a rival, and to deprive him of his eye-sight. See also ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 12-17.

A sacrificer who follows the Atharvaveda may add AV. 6, 124, 3 (cf. VaitS. 11, 9) "a fragrant ointment a success is that ..." which in the AV. Saṃhitā is the last stanza of a text prescribed by Kauś. 46, 41 in an expiatory rite for the ominous influence of raindrops falling from a clear sky, the uncanny drops being declared to be fragrant ointment etc. It is hardly credible that the dīkṣā ritual has borrowed the stanza from the raindrop rite, but this insertion helps towards an insight into the genesis of these mantra collections prescribed for ritual purposes.

The formulas TS. 1, 2, 1, 2 k (MS. 3, 6, 3: 62, 15; VS. 4, 4) invoking the Lords of thought and speech and the god Savitar to purify the sacrificer are appropriately used,[201] purification being an important element in consecration.[202] These formulas impress us as a triplication of the last one: *devas tvā savitā punātv acchidreṇa pavitreṇa vasoḥ sūryasya raśmibhiḥ*, which occurs also elsewhere, viz. in MŚS. 1, 2, 5, 18 while purifying the ghee during the Full-and-New moon sacrifice. Cf. GobhGS. 1, 7, 25 where the words are likewise prescribed when the ājya (clarified butter for sacrificial purposes) is purified[203] and KhGS. 1, 2, 14 where they are to accompany a purification rite. From TS. 6, 1, 1, 7-8 (cf. ĀpŚS. 10, 7, 6) it may be concluded that the person undergoing the dīkṣā is completely purified by means, or through the co-operation of, day and night, seasons, metres, breaths etc.

It is worth dwelling on the rite accompanying these sacral words. Twenty-one darbha stalks are divided into three groups, and the successive numbers of the stalks used in the purification put the sacrificer in relation with a series of cosmic and physiological entities: (day, night, the divisions of space ..., the breaths, fingers, toes etc., the twenty-first being the personality of the sacrificer himself (*ātman-*)).[204] That means that starting with day and night the passage works up to man himself, who

201 See also Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus school*, p. 20.

202 Cf. also J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1957), p. 13; p. 93 f.; 98 f.; and in general, F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 188 (purification and baptism); p. 190 (Hausweihopfer), etc.

203 See R. Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras* (Delhi, 1959), p. 383.

204 See TS. 6,1,1,7 f.; MS. 3,6,3: 63,6 ff.; KS. 23,1: 74,1 ff.; ŚB. 3,1,3,19 ff.

being the twenty-first integrates all cosmic entities in himself, so that in his 'new body' the yajamāna embodies the whole universe. It may be noticed that the same idea was in another way expressed in connection with the dīkṣita garment, which is said to be connected with all the gods (cf. TS. 6, 1, 1, 3). It is interesting to add that the purification with a hundred and one darbha bunches embodied in the Rājasūya runs parallel. This act also seems to be related to the building up of a new body and a new life, the darbha bunches representing the vital forces (*āyus-* and *vīrya-*) of man; the sacrificer himself who encloses the vital forces and becomes complete through the purification is the hundred and first (*yāvān eva puruṣaḥ tasmin vīryaṃ dadhāti*)[205] (cf. TB. 1, 7, 6, 5[206]). Dealing with the Soma dīkṣā MS. 3, 6, 2: 61, 18; KS. 22, 13: 69, 2 state the purport of the anointment, the eating and the dīkṣā garment as follows: "these are (the parts of) the body of man, having become whole-bodied he undertakes the dīkṣā". The dīkṣita obviously is provided with a new body.

If the sacrificer follows the Atharvaveda he may again insert another stanza, viz. AV. 6, 19, 1 *punantu mā devajanāḥ* etc. "let the divinities purify me etc.". AV. 6, 19 is variously used for ceremonial purification, being included for instance (Kauś. 9, 2) in the bṛhacchānti texts[207] or in texts accompanying a rite for good fortune (Kauś. 41, 14) etc.[208] In VaitS. it *inter alia* accompanies a purifying rite in the agniṣṭoma (11, 10). What interests us more is that a variant of this verse is as ṚV. 9, 67, 27 one of the stanzas added to a Pavamāna-sūkta. This addition (st. 22-27) is "ein Gebet um innere Erläuterung".[209] "Im ṚV. beziehen sich ... die Verse – which in other texts are "zeremonielle Reinigungsformeln" – auf die vorbereitende innere Läuterung und Weihung des Dichters für die Dichtung und heilige Handlung".[210] In VS. 19, 39; MS. 3, 11, 10: 155, 14; KS. 38, 2: 102, 4 the stanza forms part of the formulas of the Sautrāmaṇī, a sacrifice instituted to expiate and counteract the evil effects of excessive indulgence in Soma-drinking; similarly, VaitS. 30, 13. It may be observed that TB. 1, 4, 8, 1-6 and other texts (cf. also ĀpŚS. 10, 7, 13) add a considerable number of other purificatory stanzas, invoking the assistance of Soma, Agni, Savitar etc. One of these stanzas (the 13th)expresses

205 Heesterman, *o.c.*, p. 99.

206 The text continues: *dadhy āśayati, indriyam evāvarundhe; udumbaram āśayati, annādyasyāvarudhyai; śaṣpāṇy āśayati, surābalim evainaṃ karoti; āvida etā bhavanti, āvidam evainaṃ gamayanti.*

207 Caland, *Altind. Zauberritual*, p. 17.

208 For details see Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 294.

209 Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, III, p. 56.

210 See also *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 105 f.

the wish that the verses of Soma pavamāna "should show-and-allot (*diśantu*) us this world and the other world".

The next stanza, spoken by the sacrificer himself after concluding the purification and identical in TS., KS. and MS. is worth quoting in full: *tasya te pavitrapate pavitreṇa yasmai kaṃ pune tac chakeyam* "O lord of the purifier, with thy purifier for whatsoever I purify myself, that may I have the strength to accomplish" (cf. TS. 6, 1, 1, 9); "whereby he says" ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 23 explains, "may I reach the end of the sacrifice". This stanza which is quite adapted to the purpose seems to have been exclusively used in this ritual connection.

In TB. 3, 7, 12; ĀpŚS. 10, 7, 14 we find a long series of 20 stanzas to be pronounced by the yajamāna after the purification and expressing the various manifestations of evil, sins and transgressions from which he is now delivered: offences against good moral and religious manners, curses, the evil consequences of injustice, etc.; in short, all sorts of occasions are enumerated, when possibly sins may have been committed or evil may have been contracted, various gods being mentioned as deliverers.[211] The first stanza is a slightly different version of AV. 6, 114, 1 which, introducing a sūkta to be pronounced against disability in sacrifice, is also used in other texts.[212] A similar, but shorter prayer occurs VS. 20, 14-17 in the avabhṛtha of the Sautrāmaṇī.

The remaining formulas accompany the entry of the sacrificer into the sacrificial hall by the eastern door. The first stanza *ā vo devāsa īmahe satyadharmāṇo adhvare yad vo devāsa āgure yajñiyāso havāmahe* (thus in TS. 1, 2, 1, 2) is likewise – notwithstanding some variants and partial occurrences elsewhere – appropriate as well as exclusively used in the dīkṣā ceremony: "We approach you, O gods, we that have true ordinances at the sacrifice, as, O gods, I am in agreement with you, we, who are eager in worship (sacred), invoke you".[213] The first words may be taken literally, i.e. as expressing the speaker's conviction that he having undergone the dīkṣā comes nearer to the divine powers. After invoking some divine powers (Indra or Sūrya, Agni, Earth, Heaven, waters and plants) who are obviously considered willing to assist in the sacrifice, or as MŚS. 2, 1, 2, 6 (MS. 1, 2, 2) has it, who are supposed to invite the yajamāna to the consecration, come the words *tvaṃ dīkṣāṇām adhipatir asīha mā santaṃ pāhi* which occur only in TS. (and ĀpŚS. 10, 8, 1); they are addressed to

[211] See also E. Rodhe, *Deliver us from evil* (Lund-Copenhague, 1946), p. 137; 157.
[212] For details see Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 364.
[213] See also Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II (8.-15. Buch) (Amsterdam Academy, 1924), p. 138.

the fire. In MŚS. 1, 2, 2: 11, 4; KS. 2, 2 Savitar is addressed as the lord of consecration.

A study of these formulas gives us the impression, first that they are generally speaking perfectly adapted to their specific purposes, and in the second place that they are, as already observed by other scholars, not specifically initiatory in character, or rather that they do not constitute a set of mantras exclusively meant to accompany this preparation for the dīkṣā and to express the sense and essence of the ceremony. Most of them belong intimately to particular parts of the ceremony, being also used in connection with the same or a similar ritual act in other rites. In a minority of cases a formula does not occur elsewhere, but then also it is limited in scope. Thus these mantras may lead us to the conclusion that this first part of the dīkṣā ceremony has been composed of a number of suitable particular ritual acts.

The preparatory rites in connection with the sacrificer's wife are for the greater part performed silently. The formulas TS. 3, 5, 6 b-c (ĀpŚS. 11, 16, 9; MŚS. 2, 2, 4, 19) are, although the opening words are a variant of ṚV. 1, 40, 3 etc., not found elsewhere and well suited to the purpose: "Die Herrin des Brahman soll vorwärts gehen, sie soll sich mit der Farbe (der Gesundheit) auf die Mahāvedi setzen" and "Und ich begebe mich, dem Wunsche folgend, hier an meine Stätte".[214] There is however some evidence of their supplementary character in the place given to them in TS. where they occur in a chapter containing miscellaneous supplements together with other mantras connected with the wife of the sacrificer, whereas their logical place would have been in 1, 2-4.[215] The sūtras also sever the acts performed with these mantras from the parallel acts in connection with the yajamāna.[216] The second half of the likewise appropriate mantra *suprajasas tvā vayaṃ supatnīr upa sedima / agne sapatnadambhanam adabdhāso adābhyam* belongs elsewhere to the formulas for the Agnihotra (VS. 3, 18), the Darśapūrṇamāsa rites (TS. 1, 1, 10, 2), or the adoration of the ritual fires (TS. 1, 5, 5, 4; cf. ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 21). The complete formula is TS. 1, 1, 10, 1 and ĀpŚS. 2, 5, 8 used during the Darśapūrṇamāsa.

The stanza ĀśvŚS. 4, 2, 3 (cf. also KS. 4, 16: 41, 7; TB. 2, 4, 3, 3) *agnir mukhaṃ prathamo devatānām / saṃgatānām uttamo viṣṇur āsīt / yajamānāya parigṛhya devān / dīkṣayedaṃ havir āgachataṃ naḥ*, serving as the *puronuvākyā* (invitation stanza) of the principal libation and invoking the gods Agni and Viṣṇu – the *devānāṃ dīkṣāpālau* (AiB. 1, 4, 10) – to

[214] Caland's translation, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, p. 225.
[215] Keith, *Veda Black Yajus school*, p. 283.
[216] Caland, *l.c.*

come, through the dīkṣā, to the oblations, assembling the other gods for the benefit of the sacrificer, is perfectly adapted to this particular purpose. "These formulas", AiB. 1, 4, 8 ff. teaches, "are perfect in form as being addressed to Agni and Viṣṇu; that in the sacrifice is perfect which is perfect in form, that rite which as it is performed the verse describes ... (It is because they desire): 'May those who are the lords of the consecration, being delighted, confer consecration, may those who consecrate consecrate'". This formula does not occur elsewhere.

The *yājyā* (words of adoration and consecration[217]) is likewise perfectly clear and appropriate: *ye yajāmahe 'gnāviṣṇū* "we who worship Agni and Viṣṇu";[218] ĀśvŚS. 4, 2, 3 *agniś ca viṣṇo tapa uttamaṃ mahaḥ / dīkṣāpālāya* (*-ebhyo* TB. 2, 4, 3, 4) *vanataṃ hi śakrā / viśvair devair yajñiyaiḥ saṃvidānau / dīkṣām asmai yajamānāya dhattam.* The gods Agni and Viṣṇu winning for the dīkṣāpāla(s), tapas and majesty[219] and being expressly stated to be allied with all the other deities are requested to impart the dīkṣā to the sacrificer. The use of this formula is confined to this context. As already observed Agni and Viṣṇu are the guardians (or lords) of consecration, and hence expected to confer it on man (AiB. 1, 4, 10). For close connections between Viṣṇu and dīkṣā and tapas see also MS. 1, 9, 2; MŚS. 2, 1, 1, 17 etc.

During the dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi the prastotar (an assistant of the udgātar) should sing the two parts of the double Tārkṣya-sāman (SV. 1, 332 = ṚV. 10, 178, 1),[220] inviting "the victorious god-quickened Tārkṣya, the possessor of vāja,[221] for the sake of well-being (*svastaye*)". Tārkṣya, though comparatively early referred to as a bird, is, in all probability correctly, considered an equine representative of the powerful sunlight. If in ancient times the main sphere of activity of Viṣṇu really was the space surrounding the earth, this mythical being made an excellent 'duplicate-representative' of that god in one of his main functions, i.e. that of conquering space and traversing the 'atmosphere' between heaven and earth for the sake of mankind.[222] This stanza which (Kauś. 25, 36) belongs to a group of texts to be recited for auspicious progress is (Kauś. 59, 14) also used in a rite for general welfare (cf. also ṢB. 5, 1, 6). Elsewhere however (AiB. 4, 20, 22) the Tārkṣya hymn should be used for one desiring heaven ("just as one makes one knowing the place a guide on a journey, so is it

[217] See L. Renou, *Vocabulaire du rituel védique* (Paris, 1954), p. 128 f.
[218] Cf. e.g. ŚB. 1,5,16; 18; 20; ŚŚS. 1,1,36; 39; 40.
[219] For *mahas* see *Journal Or. Inst. Baroda*, 8 (1959), p. 234 ff.
[220] See Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 16; Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, III, p. 398 f.
[221] For *vāja-* see *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 48 f.
[222] *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 102 f.

in that (one mounts) with the Tārkṣya"). Tārkṣya, AiB. 4, 29, 16 says, "is safe passage"; by reciting this hymn "one secures a safe journey". The occurrence of this hymn in the dīkṣā ceremonies may be viewed against this background.

Before proceeding to discuss the stanzas accompanying the "dīkṣā oblations" it is worth while to quote some lines from the brāhmaṇa contained in the TS. (6, 1, 2, 1) which explains TS. 1, 2, 2, 1:[223] "All the gods who purified themselves for the sacrifice prospered. He who knowing thus purifies himself for the sacrifice prospers also. Having purified him without he makes him go within. Verily having purified him in the world of men, he leads him forward purified to the world of the gods...". The formulas accompanying the oblations are not used in other rites: "To the Intention,[224] to the Motif (Impulse), to Agni, svāhā" ("for with intention does a man employ the sacrifice ...", TS. 6, 1, 2, 2); ... "to Dīkṣā, to Tapas, to Agni, svāhā" etc. That among the powers mentioned is also *medhā* "practical or creative wisdom"[225] is not without significance. Sarasvatī and Pūṣan are remembered, because TS. 6, 1, 2, 2 says, Sarasvatī is speech and Pūṣan is earth, and the sacrifice is performed with speech and earth. One might rather be inclined to refer to other aspects of the divine figure called Pūṣan.[226] He is not only the lord of the roads who grants an auspicious journey, the god who knows and shows the paths and conducts the bride to the house of her husband and the deceased on the far path to the Fathers (ṚV. 10, 17, 3 and 4[227]), but the AV. (16, 9, 2; 18, 2, 53) speaks also of him as conducting men to the world of those who have earned ritual and religious merits, the pleasant world of the gods,[228] and the ṚV. describes him (10, 26, 4) as furthering the inspired thoughts, the upanishads stating him to be the god in charge of the unveiling of "the face of truth which is covered with a golden plate".[229] Cf. BĀU. 5, 15, 1 "unveil it, O Pūṣan, so that I who love the truth may see it". As Pūṣan is implored to bring the ṛṣi's dhī to fulfilment,[230] so he may also have cooperated in making the dīkṣā successful, that is, in conducting the dīkṣita

[223] For parallels see Keith, *o.c.*, p. 485.
[224] The sense of *ākūti-* seems to have been: "what one seeing before the mind's eye has in view" (*The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 43).
[225] *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 57 f.; 104; 127.
[226] S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda* (Princeton, 1941); the same, in *J.A.O.S.* 67, p. 274; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 35 ff.
[227] Cf. also the kalpa on TĀ. 6,1,1 and ĀśvŚS. 6, 10,19.
[228] That this task of the god is in all probability dependent upon his function as the god of the paths (see also Atkins, *o.c.*, p. 18) is in this connection irrelevant.
[229] *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 86 f.
[230] *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 87.

towards his goal. It is significant that Sarasvatī – who in the brāhmaṇas is identified with Vāc ("Speech") – plays, like Agni, likewise a rôle in the process by which the ṛṣis or ancient Vedic poets penetrated into the world of the unseen, receiving visions and gaining poetic inspiration.[231] Being a promoter of *dhiyaḥ* she might have been supposed to assist the sacrificer also in his attempt to become deified.[232] It is also with her support that the sacrificer is anointed at the Agnicayana (ŚB. 9, 3, 4, 17).

The invocation of the Waters, Heaven, Earth and Atmosphere, as well as Bṛhaspati at the fifth libation (cf. TB. 6, 1, 2, 3; ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 15) does not seem to have found another ritual application, although the sequence *dyāvāpṛthivī urv antarikṣam* introduces AV. 2, 12, 1 a series of formulas to be directed "against such as would thwart my incantations". In order to secure success for the attempt to transform the sacrifice into a divine being the co-operation is needed of the great cosmic powers and of the god who, being the protector and furtherer of rites and sacrifices, praises that knowledge which is immortal light and by union with which one attains to brahma (Bṛhadd. 7, 109).

The next mantra, *viśve devasya netur marto vṛṇīta sākhyaṃ / viśve rāya iṣudhyasi dyumnaṃ vṛṇīta puṣyase svāhā* is on the other hand essentially identical with, or rather an inferior version of,[233] ṚV. 5, 50, 1. These words "Let every mortal man choose the companionship of the god who is the guide (leader); every man makes it his object to (gain) possessions; let him choose prestige that he may prosper; svāhā"[234] introduce, in the Ṛgveda, a not completely clear sūkta addressed to the Viśve devāḥ, in which however the motif of the "divine conductor" comes to the fore (cf. stanza 2; 3; 5). This figure is (according to ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 19, Sāyaṇa and the commentary on VS. 4, 8) Savitar. In Ṛgvidhāna 2, 16, 4 the sūkta is "an auspicious blessing which destroys all stains". The stanza was also to accompany the parallel rite of the Agnicayana ceremony (see VS. 11, 67; TS. 4, 1, 9, 1; 5, 1, 9, 1; ĀpŚS. 16, 8, 13 etc.[235]);[236] it occurs, moreover, in the Aśvamedha (VS. 22, 21; ŚB. 13, 1, 8, 8 etc.). Now, TS. 6, 1, 2, 5f. divides this stanza into its four pādas, assigning them to Savitar, the Fathers, the Viśve Devāḥ and Pūṣan respectively; ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 19 divides it

[231] *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 85 f.
[232] See also *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 51.
[233] Cf. Keith, *o.c.*, p. 21, n. 3.
[234] The translation given is that of the ṚV., the traditional TS. text making no sense. See also Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, IV (Paris, 1958), p. 78; V (Paris, 1959), p. 30.
[235] Cf. Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III, p. 19.
[236] Cf. e.g. R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda* (Benares, 1927), p. 116.

in five parts, attributing them (and the libations) to the Viśve Devāḥ, Savitar, Mitra, Bṛhaspati and Pūṣan. Explaining the dīkṣā of the Agnicayana the ŚB. 6, 6, 1, 21 observes: "He who chooses the friendship of the god Savitar chooses both prestige and prosperity; and he who performs this rite indeed chooses his friendship". Besides the mantra, preceded by formulas similar to the above *ākūtyai* etc. and likewise accompanying oblations of ghee, occurs in an Agnipravartana-rite, an Installation of the fire on a spot to the north or the east of the village, which we know only from MGS. 1, 6.[237] The same text has it used in 1, 23, 6 to accompany oblations to be offered when observances are undertaken before the study of the ritual. To these *dīkṣāḥ* we will have to revert. In ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 1 all five oblations are called the audgrabhaṇa, elsewhere[238] this term is applied to the stanza *viśve* and the last oblation. As the "elevating" ones these consecratory words are believed to help the sacrificer in raising himself from this to the other world, or as the ŚB. has it: "All formulas (*yajūṃṣi*) of the consecration are 'elevatory', since he who is consecrated elevates himself from this world to the world of the gods. He elevates himself by means of these same formulas ... Now they also (specially) designate these intermediate ones as audgrabhaṇa, because these are libations, and a libation is a sacrifice. For the muttering of a sacrificial formula is an occult (form of sacrifice), but a libation is a direct (form of) sacrifice; hence it is by this same sacrifice that he elevates himself from this world to the world of the gods".[239] It is clear that this elevation was supposed to take place with the assistance of a divine conductor, who was traditionally identified with Savitar.

It is not surprising that Savitar, the sun in its dynamic and cinetic aspects,[240] who moves between heaven and earth (ṚV. 1, 35, 9), is implored to grant wholeness and a long life (10, 36, 14), and conducts the dead on the distant path to the heavenly world (10, 17, 4; cf. ĀśvGS. 4, 4, 7), should play an important part in this connection, because the sun, besides being a conductor of souls to the realm of the deceased (ψυχοπομπός)[241] often acts as a hierophant.[242] "Certaines tribus australiennes nous ont montré le soleil en rapport avec *chaque* membre de la communauté en particulier ... Les tribus Wiradjuri – Kamilaroi ... visent à assimiler

[237] See Dresden, *o.c.*, p. 21 f.
[238] Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 17; Keith, *o.c.*, p. 486.
[239] See also Eggeling's note, in *Sacred Books of the East*, 26 (Oxford, 1885), p. 20.
[240] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 94 f.
[241] See also R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (Bonn, 1921), p. 36, n. 1; 162 (the sun as 'Seelenschiff').
[242] Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1949), p. 125 ff.

l'initié avec le héros solaire, fils de l'Être Suprême céleste. Par l'initiation, l'homme devient ainsi, d'une certaine manière, fils de l'Être Suprême; plus exactement il le redevient grâce à sa mort rituelle suivie de sa résurrection en qualité de Soleil ... Le Soleil devient ainsi le prototype du 'mort qui ressuscite chaque matin'". "Le soleil entraîne à sa suite, il 'aspire' les âmes des vivants avec la même facilité qu'il guide, en qualité de psychopompe, les âmes des morts par la 'porte du soleil' à l'occident".[243] Not rarely initiations and memberships of secret societies guarantee that those who in this life have taken the necessary measures will after death not undergo the fate of the masses:[244] "in den Festriten der Mysterien wird die ewige Seligkeit antizipiert"; "ein Geburts-, Todes- und Aufstehungsmysterium wird auch im Kult des Attis gefeiert ...; geheimnisvolle Vigilien fanden statt, bei welchen der Eingeweihte sich als ein neuer Attis mit der Mutter-Braut vereinen sollte".[245] There exists moreover a whole mythico-iconographic complex which presents the sun as descending into darkness even as the novice, as an embryo, enters the uterine darkness of the initiatory hut.[246] When the sun rises in the morning, the world is reborn, but with this process the ritual rebirth of the initiate who emerges from his hut may be regarded as running parallel. It is not without significance that according to ChU. 8, 6, those who go to immortality leave this world through the sun, and that according to a later theory the successful yogin will reach the orb of the sun (SauraP. 13, 36). It is Savitar who in the Ṛgveda (4, 54, 2) grants 'immortality' to the gods and a safe and sound condition, 'wholeness', to men (10, 36, 14).

In the ĀpŚS. 10, 8, 7 now follows a series of formulas accompanying the ritual discussed KB. 7, 4, to which we will have to return further on.

Proceeding now to discuss the mantras accompanying the dīkṣā proper, it must first be recalled that the yajamāna is to grasp or to touch the white and the black hairs of the antelope skin, on which[247] he has taken his seat.[248] With the first stanza *ṛksāmayoḥ śilpe sthas te vām ā rabhe / te mā pātam āsya yajñasyodṛcaḥ* (TS. 1, 2, 2 d; cf. KŚS. 7, 3, 23) "You are

[243] See also R. W. Williamson, *Religions and cosmic beliefs of Central Polynesia* (Cambridge, 1933), I, p. 118; II, p. 218 f.; S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 218.
[244] Cf. also J. G. Frazer, *The belief in immortality* (London, 1913-1924), II, p. 242.
[245] Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 548; 227 f.
[246] C. Hentze, *Tod, Auferstehung, Weltordnung* (Zürich, 1955), p. 148 etc.; Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth*, p. 56; 59.
[247] Cf. also ŚB. 3,2,1,5.
[248] For particulars see ĀpŚS. 10,8,11 ff. with Caland's commentary (*o.c.*, II, p. 139 f.); Eggeling's notes in S.B.E., 26, p. 26 f. and TS. 6,1,3,1.

forms[249] of the ṛc and the sāman. I grasp you two; protect me until the completion of this sacrifice" these white and black hairs of the skin are addressed.[250] According to TB. 6, 1, 3, 1f. this mantra enables the yajamāna to secure the ṛc and the sāman as well as whatever is imbued in day and night; as the skin is a manifestation (*rūpam*) of brahman, the yajamāna is consecrated with brahman. ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 6f. observes: "He who is consecrated becomes an embryo, and enters into the metres; hence he has his hands closed, since embryos have their hands closed. And when he says 'I touch you', he means to say 'I enter into you' ...". This mantra which is completely intelligible is not applied in other rites.

While bending his right knee and creeping over the skin the yajamāna recites TS. 1, 2, 2, 2 e *imāṃ dhiyaṃ śikṣamāṇasya deva kratuṃ dakṣaṃ varuṇa saṃ śiśādhi / yayāti viśvā duritā tarema sutarmāṇam adhi nāvam ruhema* "O god Varuṇa, do thou sharpen in me who exert myself this product of inspiration (i.e. the mantra pronounced), the inventiveness and ability; we may mount that easily crossing ship by (with) which we may pass over all 'bad courses'".[251] The powerful inspired text (*dhī-*) made perfect by *kratu-* and *dakṣa-* is – if the stanza is interpreted by itself – the vessel which takes the ṛṣi and those who employ the text ritually across. The chances of failure are characterized as *duritā* "bad courses, danger, discomfort, evil, difficulties". According to TS. 6, 1, 3, 2 these words need no comment, but AiB. 1, 13, 29 prescribing their use on the occasion of the purchase of the soma, shows that in a ritual context "the ship fair crossing is the sacrifice; the ship fair crossing is the black antelope skin; the ship fair crossing is speech; verily thus having mounted upon speech with it he crosses over to the world of heaven".[252] In the dīkṣā rite the skin is the ship, cf. ĀpŚS. 10, 9, 3.[253] Another ritual use occurs ŚŚS. 6, 1, 10; here is, during the Agniṣṭoma, recited for the victim immolated to Varuṇa, obviously because it contains the name of this god.[254] Cf. also ŚGS. 5, 2, 4.

[249] Cf. Naigh. 3, 7; = *pratirūpam* "counterpart, representation" (Uvaṭa on VS. 4, 9); "Abbild", Caland, *o.c.*, II, p. 140.
[250] For the 'symbolism' of the antelope skin see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 119 (the white of the skin is the ṛc, the black the sāman).
[251] For the interpretation of this stanza which has been translated variously see also Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.* V (Paris, 1959), p. 93; VII (Paris, 1960), p. 70 f.; *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 111.
[252] Otherwise KB. 7, 10.
[253] Translated by Caland (*o.c.*, II, p. 141): "... damit wir durch dasselbe (nl. das Gebet (i.e. the *dhī-*)) über alle Schwierigkeiten hinwegkommen und das ... Schiff besteigen".
[254] Compare ŚŚS. 6, 10 in general.

In the ritual directions of ĀpŚS. 10, 9, 1 this mantra is preceded by the five formulas of TB. 3, 7, 7, 3-4 which while invoking Indra express the yajamāna's conviction that he enters the five metres and that he participated in the light of heaven (*jyotir abhūvam, suvar agamam; suvargaṃ lokaṃ nākasya pṛṣṭham, bradhnasya viṣṭapam agamam*). While pronouncing these words he touches the skin at the four points of the compass, the centre with the last mantra. The importance of the number five is due to the fact that in the Veda the five points of the compass represent the entire world.[255] This act may quite intelligibly be explained by a reference to ŚB. 6, 7, 1, 6 describing the dīkṣā of the Agnicayana, where the hairs of the black antelope's skin are homologized with the métres, which are, moreover, said "to sustain him": "by the metres the gods carried him, and by the metres he now carries him", and to 6, 7, 2, 11 ff. where the sacrificer mounts the metres which represent the worlds The sacrificer who is about to be ritually reborn must mount the quarters of space or master the universe. The same combination of the ideas of conception and birth on the one hand and of ascension to heaven and appropriating the universe are also expressed in connection with other rites.[256]

After the stanza *imāṃ dhiyam* prescribed in 10, 9, 3 ĀpŚS. has in 10, 9, 4 the stanza TS. 1, 5, 11 t used,[257] which is identical with ṚV. 10, 63, 10 etc.: "may we embark the well-preserving earth, the unobstructed sky, the well-sheltering, well-conducting Aditi,[258] the well-oared ship of the gods, which is guiltless[259] and does not leak, in order to attain to well-being". Although this stanza forms part of a praise of all gods (ṚV. 10, 63) and of Aditi (AV. 7, 6, 3), of a text accompanying rites for preparing the house-fire (Kauś. 71, 23) and in the pitṛnidhāna ceremony (Kauś. 86, 26), – in these two cases in connection with embarking on a boat (cf. also ĀśvGS. 2, 6, 8 !) –, it belongs – again – to the stanzas to be recited during the Sautrāmaṇi in VS. 21, 6; to the Prāyaṇīya or introductory sacrifice in AiB. 1, 9, 7; to those used during the Āgrahāyaṇī-karma (MGS. 2, 7, 2 f.) and the Vastukarma (MGS. 2, 11, 9 f.); it forms part of the consecration formulas of the Aśvamedha in TS. 7, 1, 18, 2; MS. 4, 10, 1 it appears among the yājyānuvākyāḥ, etc. Notwithstanding its various ritual applications its use is, in the context under discussion no doubt appropriate.

255 Cf. ṚV. 9,86,29. See also F. B. J. Kuiper, in *Indological studies in honor of W. Norman Brown* (New Haven Conn., 1962), p. 148.
256 I refer to Heesterman, *o.c.*, p. 104 f.
257 This section of TS. contains the puronuvākyas and yājyās for the iṣṭis described in TS. 2, 2, 5, 1-6, 5 with some alternatives.
258 See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 84.
259 See also Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda*, III, p. 234.

Continuing the 'metaphorical' reference to a ship in ĀpŚS. 10, 9, 3 it is to effect the success of the yajamāna's 'cosmic journey' towards heaven. The same interpretation holds good with regard to the next words *imāṃ su nāvam aruham* etc. "happily I have mounted this ship ..." (TS. 1, 5, 11, 5; KS. 2, 3; cf. also AV. 17, 1, 25). They are in ĀpŚS. 10, 9, 4 followed by the formulas TB. 3, 7, 7, 4 expressing the yajamāna's belief that he has "mounted the dīkṣā, the wife of ṛta" (which in the commentary is explained by *yajña-*), that he has become light, and reached heaven.[260]

The yajamāna sits down in a particular manner and puts the girdle (*mekhalā*) on with *ūrg asi āṅgirasy ūrṇamradā(ḥ) / ūrjaṃ me yaccha pāhi mā, mā mā hiṃsīḥ* "you are the strength of the Aṅgirases, soft as wool; grant me strength, protect me, do not harm me". The ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 14 observes that it was the Aṅgirases – the mythical prototypes of this ritual feature (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 10) – who perceived this source of strength. The Aṅgirases, sons of heaven and great seers, who were closely associated with Indra, seem to have been a race of higher beings, attendants of Agni and somehow intermediate between gods and men.[261] There is as the ŚB., l.c., remarks nothing obscure in the words "soft ... etc.", because a girdle is not rarely applied "for strength". Thus a bride was to be girded with a yoke-rope in order to become 'immortal' or to obtain wealth and progeny (AV. 14, 1, 42; 2, 70; Kauś. 76, 7 etc.). A girdle was also put on in rites aiming at vāja, the generative power manifesting itself in vegetation etc., by which new life and new food is obtained (AV. 14, 2, 70). Those who consecrated themselves with a view to abhicāra, i.e. the application of rites for malevolent purposes wore likewise a mekhalā (AV. 6, 133). As a "source of strength" this object was also regarded as a "rival-killing vajra" (Kauś. 47, 16). In the same quality it is ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 10 prescribed for the man who is consecrated, because he also attains completion (*samāpti-*) by it. It may therefore be considered to symbolize the dīkṣā (ŚB. 3, 4, 3, 2-5; 6, 2, 2, 39 etc.). "Das Umgürten stärkt nicht allein die Kraft, sondern verwandelt auch".[262] – Although this formula in its entirety is confined to this ritual application, the second part occurs (in the variant *ūrjaṃ mayi dhehi*) also elsewhere: VS. 10, 25; ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 26 etc. when the performer of the rājasūya touches and addresses a shoot of an udumbara tree.[263]

Meanwhile the wife of the yajamāna is girded with the stanza TS. 1, 1,

260 See above.
261 For details: Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 142 ff.
262 *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, III, 1210 ff.
263 Heesterman, *o.c.*, p. 130. Otherwise e.g. ĀpŚS. 14, 33, 2.

10 e *āśāsānā saumanasaṃ prajāṃ saubhāgyaṃ tanūm / agner anuvratā bhūtvā saṃ nahye sukṛtāya kam* "praying for benevolence, offspring, good fortune, myself,[264] in devotion to Agni, I gird myself for ritual and religious merits" and 3, 5, 6, 1 a "I gird you with milk and ghee, I gird you with water and plants; I gird you with offspring; today being consecrated (*dīkṣitā*) win vāja for us". The variant of the former stanza AV. 14, 1, 42 – which in d significantly reads *amṛtāya kam* "for immortality" – is Kauś. 76, 7 used when the bride is girded with a yoke-rope, but Vait. 2, 6 when the wife of the yajamāna is girded; cf. ĀpŚS. 2, 5, 2 (Darśapūrṇamāsa); ĀpŚS. 7, 28, 2 makes it accompany the adoration of the sacrificial post (paśubandha, animal sacrifice). The other stanza corresponds to AV. 14, 2, 70 which in the opinion of Whitney[265] is an artificial (?) variation of TS. 3, 5, 6, 1 and is used at the girding of the bride (Kauś. 76, 7). What interests us most is that the wife, while girding herself for the sake of religious merit, and being consecrated is to win vāja.

While wrapping the sacrificer in a garment the adhvaryu recites the words "you are the shelter, refuge; śarma of Viṣṇu, the shelter of the yajamāna; grant me a shelter (refuge, protection)". The last words agree with the version of ĀpŚS. 10, 9, 8, where the sacrificer puts on the garment himself. Here ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 17 furnishes us with the interesting comment that "he who is consecrated becomes both Viṣṇu and a sacrificer, for when he is consecrated, he is Viṣṇu, and when he sacrifices, he is the sacrificer". It may be remembered that according to TS. 1, 8, 15, 1 the king who during the rājasūya ceremonies – the purport of which is the endowment of the sacrificer with the various powers and energies inherent in kingship – makes the Viṣṇu steps becomes Viṣṇu and gains these worlds (*viṣṇukramān kramate, viṣṇur eva bhūtvemāṃl lokān abhijayati*); cf. also TB. 1, 7, 4, 4; 1, 7, 9, 2. Viṣṇu is the god who acquires the power of pervasion and penetration for the sacrificer who by imitating the god's activity reaches his goal, i.e. the heavenly world, the safe refuge.[266] While enveloping his head (ĀpŚS. 10, 9, 8) the sacrificer says: *nakṣatrāṇāṃ mātīkāśāt pāhi* "protect me against the too intense shine of the constellations". Although this formula does not in this form occur in other ritual connections the more extended form Vait. 11, 13 (*dīkṣā*); Kauś. 82, 11 (funeral rites) may be compared: "the shine and the reflection of the constellations must favour me". As is well known the belief in unfavourable influences of

[264] *tanūm*: see Keith, *o.c.*, p. 10 f. (n. 4) and Renou, *Grammaire de la langue védique* (Paris, 1952), p. 231 (§ 282, n. 4).
[265] Whitney-Lanman, *Atharva-veda saṃhitā*, p. 766.
[266] *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 172 f.

stars and constellations has been widespread in Europe as well as elsewhere;[267] cf. e.g. the fear for Sirius (the dog-star) "that baleful sign, which brings to suffering mortals fiery heat" in various countries (Hesiodus, Opera 587 etc.).

At this point BaudhŚS. 6, 5 makes mention of an act in connection with the *uṣṇīṣa-*, that is a turban or something similar wound round the head: "Il réunit au-dessus de la tête les pans du vêtement et les assujettit en nouant le turban par dessus de gauche à droite" (*pratikṛṣya vasanasyāntān pradakṣiṇam uṣṇīṣeṇa śiro veṣṭayati*): "De prospérité je t'enveloppe la tête, pour la prospérité, la gloire, la splendeur de sainteté".[268] The uṣṇīṣa is ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 23 addressed as "the navel of nobility"; by drawing the head-band together one "places him in the navel of nobility". That is to say: the turban is the source of special power or qualities. This formula belongs to the ceremonies executed to prepare the royal sacrificer who is to undertake the rājasūya.[269] On this occasion the Maitrāyaṇīyas prescribe three garments and three formulas which are in the relative formulas said to signify the amnion, the womb and (the turban) the navel or umbilical cord (*nābhi-*) of the royal power. The White YV. prescribes four garments characterizing them in the formulas as the amnion, chorion, womb and 'navel' of nobility. As all the relevant texts mention the uṣṇīṣa on this occasion, there can be no doubt that its use in the dīkṣā under discussion is, in BaudhŚS. (and optionally in Bhār.) due to a borrowing. Curiously enough the embryo of a victim is ŚB. 4, 5, 2, 7 wrapped in an uṣṇīṣa. This formula (*śriyā te śiro veṣṭayāmi śriyai yaśase brahmavarcasāya*) does not seem to occur elsewhere.

The black antelope's horn which the adhvaryu gives to the sacrificer is addressed as follows: *indrasya yonir asi* "you are the womb of Indra", words which find their explication in ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 25ff.: when 'Sacrifice' (Yajña) paired with Speech (Vāc), Indra became an embryo and entered into their union. The womb from which he was born after a year is identical with the black antelope's horn. Through this horn the sacrificer will, after becoming an embryo, be born again.[270] In contradistinction to these typical dīkṣā-words the formula with which the yajamāna accepts the horn (*mā mā hiṃsīḥ* "do not harm me") is used in various contexts, e.g. when the sacrificer's hair and beard are shaved (the razor being

[267] See e.g. W. Gundel, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Bonn, 1922); V. Stegemann, in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, VIII (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936, 459).
[268] Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 18 f.
[269] See Heesterman, *o.c.*, p. 91 f.
[270] Cf. also TS. 6,1,3,7; Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, 10, 9, 17.

addressed, VS. 3, 63); in addressing a powerful being or object (VS. 37, 20); to avert the anger of a terrible god (ŚŚS. 4, 20, 1); to appease the (god of) fire (ibid. 6, 12, 3).

When the sacrificer digs up a clod of earth with the horn folded in the lowest fold of his garment he says "(I seize you) for ploughing, for good crops". "Therefore (medicinal) plants ripen without ploughing" is the comment of TS. 6, 1, 3, 7. As these words and the act itself must be supposed to relate to the sacrificer's rebirth or deification, at first sight the most probable interpretation seems to be that he becomes so powerful that by performing this act he furthers the growth of the plants: the well-known useful by-product of asceticism and of correct behaviour or the mere presence of powerful men. The sacrifice causes ever-flowing blessings to flow together (ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 19); the mere presence of an ascetic may result in rain and fertility (Mbh. 3, 110, 26 cr. ed.,[271] etc. etc.). As to the effects of the state of dīkṣā it may be of some use to quote KātyŚS. 13, 1, 11 where an *arthavāda-* (declaration or exegesis usually recommending a *vidhi-* or ritual precept by stating the good arising from its proper observance and by the evils arising from its omission) in connection with the dīkṣā relating to the Gavāmayana runs as follows: *tān uttiṣṭhata oṣadhayo vanaspatayo 'nūttiṣṭhanti. tān dīkṣitān uttiṣṭhato 'nu oṣadhivanaspatīnāṃ praroho bhavati. tac caivam upapadyate. tathā tarhy apo 'bhinandamānā avabhṛtham abhyavayanti. tad apy evam eva ghaṭate. vanaspatipraroho 'pām abhinandanaṃ ca caitroddeśa eva bhavati. tasmān māghī caturahaviśeṣaṇam.* From this it appears that a ritual rising effects the sprouting of plants and trees and that the state of dīkṣā causes them to grow up. As is often the case the performance of a rite pursues a plurality of objects and entails various effects. The Vedic dīkṣā obviously was not only to prepare the sacrificer for the cult of the gods and to ensure him a higher state of existence, it did not fail to exert influence for good on nature. The first part of the above formula is also used during the Vājapeya when the king has been made the ruler of his subjects (VS. 9, 22; ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 25 etc.) "whereby he means to say: '(here I seat) thee for the welfare (of the people)'".

On second thoughts however there is room for a reference to ŚB. 8, 3, 4, 8 f. where the sacrificer is said to establish himself by means of four similar formulas (*āyuṣe tvā, varcase tvā, kṛṣyai tvā, kṣemāya tvā*) in yonder world; "that was, as it were, an ascent from here". Besides, this formula forms part of a similar series addressed to the king who, when performing the

[271] See also H. Lüders, "Die Sage von Ṛṣyaśṛṅga", in *Philologica Indica* (Göttingen, 1940), p. 1 ff.

Vājapeya ceremony has mounted the sacrificial post, exclaiming "we have come to heaven, to the gods; we have become immortal" (see e.g. ŚŚS. 7, 1, 3, 5). In TS. 7, 1, 11, 1 (cf. BŚS. 15, 7) similar formulas are quoted as accompanying the sprinkling of the horse (Aśvamedha). Cf. TB. 3, 8, 3, 6. ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 30, commenting upon the dīkṣā, is on the other hand of the opinion that the formula *susasyāḥ kṛṣīs kṛdhi* produces the sacrifice, "for when there is a good year, then there is abundant (material) for sacrificing".

While stroking his right whisker with the same implement the yajamāna pronounces the formula *supippalābhyas tvauṣadhībhyaḥ* "for the (medicinal plants) well-furnished with berries". According to TS. 6, 1, 3, 7 and MS. 3, 6, 7 he thereby causes the plants to bear fruits.[272] Elsewhere this mantra accompanies the erection of the sacrificial stake (see VS. 6, 2; TS. 1, 3, 6, 1; 6, 3, 4, 2; ĀpŚS. 7, 10, 3): after anointing the top-ring he fastens it on the stake "that rice and other plants may thrive and be productive"; cf. also ŚB. 3, 7, 1, 12. Whereas the function of this mantra in a 'fertility rite' is clear, its occurrence in the dīkṣā ceremonies may give rise to considerations analogous to those brought forward in connection with the preceding formula.

When the sacrificer wants to scratch himself with the horn he must use the stanza quoted MS. 1, 2, 2; ĀpŚS. 10, 10, 3 which, as already observed by Caland,[273] was primarily intended to accompany another ritual act relating to the same implement, viz. the casting away, at a later moment, of the horn in the cātvāla ("sacrificial pit"[274]) when the dakṣiṇā has been brought (see e.g. TS. 6, 1, 3, 8, where a motivation is added; ĀpŚS. 10, 13, 3; 13, 7, 16). That is to say: these words were transferred to another ritual act connected with the antelope horn.

Next the adhvaryu offers the yajamāna the staff of udumbara wood while pronouncing MS. 1, 2, 2; MŚS. 2, 1, 2, 15; ĀpŚS. 10, 10, 4 *ūrdhvasad* (var. *bṛhann*) *asi vānaspatyaḥ, sudyumno dyumnaṃ yajamānāya dhehi* etc., which is, as the formula says, "to grant splendour to the sacrificer".[275] The sacrificer accepts the staff which is to drive away evil spirits (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 32) – udumbara wood meaning, moreover, food and strength (ibid. 33)[276] – with a formula invoking the object's protective power (ibid. 35). Accord-

[272] See also Caland, *o.c.*, II, p. 144.
[273] Caland, *o.c.*, II, p. 144.
[274] For the cātvāla (a hole in the ground for constructing the uttaravedi) see Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 76; J. Schwab, *Das altindische Tieropfer* (Erlangen, 1886), p. 24 ff.
[275] For details see also Caland, *o.c.*, II., p. 145.
[276] Udumbara wood was considered suitable for employment at the sacrifice (cf. e.g. TS. 3,4,8,4) and in fact constantly used for ritual purposes of all kinds.

ing to TS. 1, 22, 3; ĀpŚS. 10, 10, 6; ŚŚS. 2, 1, 2, 16 the staff is addressed as follows: "the god (divine) tree has a good womb" (*sūpasthā devo vanaspatiḥ*); this formula is a shorter variant of VS. 21, 60 etc., used in the Sautrāmaṇī rites. These formulas clearly primarily belonged to the staff, not to the dīkṣā ceremony. It may be remembered that the staff played also a part in the upanayana ceremonies (see e.g. ĀśvGS. 1, 19, 13). Although this object was required for support, in tending cattle etc., its ritual significance is undeniable: a brahmacārin should not allow anyone to pass between himself and the staff etc. (ŚGS. 2, 13, 2f.). The formula spoken over the wooden dish which is to contain the milk (i.e. the dīkṣita's food) gives rise to the same observation (ĀpŚS. 10, 10, 6 b).

The following important act is described ĀpŚS. 10, 10, 6 c; 11, 1ff., to which we should compare KauṣB. 7, 4.[277] This brāhmaṇa, relating "the consecration of Keśin"[278] informs us that once when Keśin,[279] the son of Darbha, was desperate, because he was not consecrated, a golden bird came to him offering him the knowledge of consecration in exchange for other useful information. And so it happened. This bird said: "The bodies are consecrated by that sacrifice; but that man is consecrated indeed whose gods within are consecrated" (KauṣB. 7, 4 *śarīrāṇi vā etayeṣṭyā dīkṣante, yā vā imāḥ puruṣe devatā yasyaitā dīkṣante sa dīkṣata iti*). These words find their explanation in the following formulas which are ĀpŚS. 10, 10, 6 c[280] preceded by other formulas. According to the ritual doctrine underlying Āpastamba's directions the dīkṣita is identical with Agni (cf. ĀpŚS. 10, 13, 1), Vāyu, Āditya, Candramās and Prajāpati. That is to say: he has been 'deified', representing various aspects of (cosmic and creative) divine power. The dīkṣā itself is in a similar way identified with the earth,[281] the atmosphere, the sky, hearing and manas ("mind, heart").[282] The complete formulas run as follows: *agnir dīkṣitaḥ, pṛthivī dīkṣā, sā mā dīkṣā dīkṣeta, tayā dīkṣayā dīkṣe* etc. "... this dīkṣā may consecrate me; by this dīkṣā I wish to be consecrated". That is to say, the earth must consecrate the yajamāna so that he will experience the 'Agni deification', etc. JB. 2, 53 gives the following formulas: "I am consecrated

[277] See also Caland, *o.c.*, II, p. 145.
[278] For a variant see JaimB. 2, 53 f. (Caland, *Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, Amsterdam Academy, 1919, p. 138).
[279] Cf. A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index* (Benares, 1958), I, p. 187.
[280] Cf. also HirŚS. 10, 10 (p. 1037) and JB. 2, 53; 65. See also Caland, *Over en uit het Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* (Amsterdam Academy, 1914), p. 40.
[281] For the correlation between Agni and the earth see e.g. ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 15; 6,2,1,29; 6,3,2,2 etc.
[282] For *manas* see my *Ancient Indian ojas* ... (Utrecht, 1952), p. 46 ff.

by the dīkṣā by which Agni was consecrated etc." (the moon being left unmentioned). Besides, JB. 2, 64 and ĀpŚS., l.c., adds some interesting formulas: "by Voice, Breath, Sight, Hearing, Mind my voice, breath etc. must undergo the consecration in order to reach Agni, Vāyu etc. (*vācā me vāg dīkṣatām agnaye samaṣṭavā u* etc.)". It is clear that these formulas presuppose the existence of a theory of consecration – obviously Keśin's dīkṣā, see also JB. 2, 68 – through ritual or 'mystic' identifications with divine (cosmic etc.) powers.

Thereupon, ĀpŚS. 10, 11, 1 continues, the adhvaryu addresses the yajamāna with the following consecratory words (TB. 3, 7, 7, 4-9): "Earth (Atmosphere, the Sky, the regions of the sky, water, the plants, Voice) is (are) the consecration; through it (them) as consecration Agni (Vāyu, Āditya, Candramās, king Varuṇa, king Soma, Breath) are consecrated; the consecration by which Agni (etc.) has been consecrated, by that I consecrate you. – The earth (etc.) must undergo the consecration after you who have been consecrated. The ṛg-stanzas, the sāmans, the yajus-formulas must undergo the consecration after you who have been consecrated. Day and night, cultivation and rain, brilliance (authority: *tviṣi-*) and reverence (*apaciti-*), water and plants, vigour and kindness must etc.'". The first part of these formulas impress us as an extended form of the formulas given in 10, 10, 6 c. The second series bears witness to the importance of the consecration of the yajamāna, whose experience serves, so to say, as a model for the provinces of nature and other powerful concepts and events.

According to ĀpŚS. 10, 11, 2 – cf. Kāṭh. 9, 15: 118, 4 – the adhvaryu has the dīkṣita recite the sambhāra formulas (*agnir yajurbhiḥ* etc.: MS. 1, 9, 2; TĀ. 3, 8, 1; MŚS. 2, 1, 1, 17 etc.).[283] These formulas through which the gods had conquered the asuras, must also be used before the dīkṣā (ĀpŚS. 10, 3, 5f.; cf. MS. 1, 9, 8), on the occasion of the soma sacrifice of a rival (ĀpŚS. 14, 19, 1f.) and on other occasions.

Now the adhvaryu has the dīkṣita recite the formula *svāhā yajñaṃ manasā* (TS. 1, 2, 2, 3 n) etc. "svāhā, (I grasp) with (my) mind the sacrifice; svāhā, from heaven and earth; svāhā, from the broad atmosphere; svāhā, from the wind I grasp the sacrifice". The motivation procured by TS. 6, 1, 4, 2 runs as follows: "man approaches the sacrifice with his mind ...; the sacrifice is in heaven and earth ...; and in the atmosphere ...; the sacrifice is the wind,[284] verily he clearly grasps him (it)". The purport of these formulas doubtless is to state that the dīkṣita now has control over

[283] See also Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, p. 126.
[284] One might compare AiĀ. 2,1,1.

the sacrifice, that is that he has gained the first object of his efforts. Approaching the sacrifice with his mind, he obtains the sacrifice which is in the cosmos.[285] It may be remarked that according to VS. 4, 6 etc. the first formula is "from mind (*manasaḥ*) I ..." ("vom Geiste her ...", Caland). While pronouncing these formulas the yajamāna is enjoined to bend his fingers and finally to close his hands:[286] MŚS. 2, 1, 2, 20. This means, according to AiB. 1, 3, 19f.: "he closes his hands; verily the embryo lies within closing its hands; with closed hands the child is born. In that he closes his hands, verily thus he clasps in his hands the sacrifice and all the deities". The yajamāna has from this moment also to restrain his speech (see e.g. MŚS. 2, 1, 2, 20), "for the support of the sacrifice" (*vācaṃ yacchati yajñasya dhṛtyai*, TS. 6, 1, 4, 3), "c'est-à-dire qu'il ne devra plus désormais tenir aucun propos qui ne soit sacré".[287]

The ceremony now reaches its close, when the adhvaryu proclaims the yajamāna consecrated to both gods and men.

When a Jyotiṣṭoma is to be executed there are one, three, four or an indefinite number of dīkṣā days (according to ĀpŚS. 10, 15, 1; VaitS. 13, 1; cf. ŚŚS. 5, 4, 7; KātyŚS. 7, 1, 29f.). Those who wish to perform a Gavāmayana or 'Jahressattra' – by which they hope to obtain offspring, prosperity, heaven and a firm position in this world –, should according to some anonymous authorities referred to in ĀpŚS. 21, 15, 14 undertake a dīkṣā of seventeen days.[288] For the performer of the horse sacrifice twenty-one dīkṣā days are required (VaitS. 36, 25). From these and similar facts the conclusion may be drawn that the consecratory rites were continually modified, enlarged and adapted to the schemas of the long and complicated 'sacrifices' to which they belonged.

Conflicting dīkṣā ceremonies on the part of others are to be avoided because *saṃsava-*, the simultaneous performance of a soma sacrifice, is harmful (GB. 1, 3, 19).[289] Hence also AiB. 1, 3, 21 *na pūrvadīkṣiṇaḥ saṃsavo 'sti, parigṛhīto vā etasya yajñaḥ, parigṛhītā devatā, naitasyārtir asty aparadīkṣiṇa eva yathā tathā* "the (evil consequences of a) competing pressing (of soma) are nullified for him who is consecrated first; the sacrifice is grasped by him, the deities are grasped; no misfortune is his as there

[285] For the ritual use according to Āpastamba see Caland's note, *o.c.*, II, p. 146.
[286] For details see ĀpŚS. 10,11,3 f.
[287] Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 19, where some particulars are given.
[288] See also KātyŚS. 13,1,2 ff. *gavāmayanāyaikāṣṭakāyāṃ dīkṣā*; *ekāṣṭakā nāma kṛṣṇāṣṭamī māghasya prasiddheḥ*. – For the numeral 17, which belongs to Prajāpati, see e.g. Eggeling, in *S.B.E.*, XLIV (Oxford, 1900), p. 570 f.
[289] Bloomfield, *Atharva-veda etc.*, p. 114 f.; Caland, *Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharvaveda* (Amsterdam Academy, 1910), p. 44 (note on 16, 6).

is of him who is not consecrated first". It is clear that the dīkṣita "grasps" deities and sacrifice and that if these have already been grasped by another sacrificer who has been consecrated before, the other sacrificer misses the opportunity to come into the right contact with the divine and sacral powers. What interests us most is that this text shows that undertaking the dīkṣā means to "grasp" gods and sacrifice, to enter into contact with them, to call on the divine presence and co-operation.

D. THE DĪKṢĀ OF ASCETICS

It is time now to turn to a form of dīkṣā which may at first sight seem astonishing, but which on second thoughts may be supposed to have constituted a very important link in the development of the institution under consideration. Whereas the Vedic Aryan tradition sanctions and extols the householder's life, the *gṛhastha-* found his opposite in the *parivrājaka-*, the wandering religious mendicant, who rejecting the dharmabooks of the brahmans, "giving up children, brothers, relatives, the sacred cord and the brahmanical tuft of hair, Veda-study as well as sacrifices" (AruṇiU. 1) went "from home into homelessness".[290] This phenomenon[291] which must have been remarkably frequent in the centuries in which the Vedic culture faded into Hinduism was of considerable historical significance. The wandering ascetics and their hermitages contributed much to the cultural colonization of the Indian peninsula. In customs and way of life the ascetics of 'orthodox' brahmanic origin did not, as far as may be judged from appearances, stand out considerably from the heterodox recluses and wanderers, however much diversity of opinion there might, among these ascetics, have existed with regard to view of life, soteriology and ascetic practices.

Now, a group of later upaniṣads[292] which deal with these wandering almsmen and their condition of life, interestingly enough, prescribes for them an initiatory ritual. Although the details of this ritual vary in different texts, its significance is clear: it is a ceremonial rejection not only of home-life, but of the whole system of Vedic socio-religious practices as

[290] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 283 f.; Har Dutt Sharma, *Contributions to the history of brāhmaṇical asceticism* (Poona, 1939).
[291] See also L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Indo-européens et Indo-iraniens. L'Inde jusque vers 300 av. J. C.* (Paris, 1936), p. 290 ff.
[292] The Saṃnyāsa-Upaniṣads edited by F. O. Schrader. *The Minor upaniṣads*, I (Adyar, 1912).

observed by the householders who regulated their lifes in accordance with the dharma established by the brahmans. These homeless wanderers did not only renounce 'the world', but also the brahmanic rites and way of life. Their renunciation (*saṃnyāsa-* "complete casting off") implied a reaction against, a non-conformity with regard to, the brahmanic ritualism, because these ascetics abandoned also all aspirations which the other Aryans tried to realize by means of their rites and ceremonies. It is indifference to all worldly objects (*vairāgya-*) and the realization of the oneness of individual and brahman which make a man a true saṃnyāsin. But this condition of life, like the various stages of existence in the world, can only be entered upon by passing through an 'initiation'.

In illustration attention may be invoked to the so-called Saṃnyāsa-Upaniṣad which was at the time translated by Paul Deussen.[293] "Ein sehr verwittertes Stück der altindischen Literatur..., welche(s) in Prosa mit eingelegten Versen den Übergang vom Stande des Hausvaters zu dem des Waldeinsiedlers (*vānaprastha-*) und Entsagers (*saṃnyāsin-*) schildert, welche beide[294] hier nicht geschieden werden".[295] In chapter I the text says that the man who desires to pass beyond the normal stages of life (*āśrama-*) should sanctify himself with Vedic mantras. He should, for the last time, perform, in the forest, a sacrifice in honour of the Fathers, and execute the *brāhmeṣṭi-*, i.e. a special sacrifice (of vegetable oblations), while reciting mantras in which immortality is stated to be the end in view of the sacrificer, and Brahman is implored to bless the person speaking, and, moreover, the mantra AV. 4, 1, 1. The oblations are offered to Brahman, the Great "First-born", Fundamental Power; Atharvan,[296] the founder of a semi-divine family of priests; Prajāpati, the god of biological creation; Anumati, the goddess "Favour"; and Agni Sviṣṭakṛt ("offering well, performing a right sacrifice"). Thereupon he throws his two kindling-sticks – which he will not need any longer – into the fire and offers ghee to the appropriate accompaniment of the four chapters of AV. 18, which, as is well known, contains funeral verses. By this recitation he achieves his sanctification. After having by this rite taken leave of the world, he places his three sacrificial fires in himself. This act is described also Manu 6, 25; 38: "henceforth he will live without a fire, and without a house, wholly silent, subsisting on roots". According to Medhātithi the procedure, viz. swallowing the ashes etc., had to be learnt from the Śrā-

[293] P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda* (Leipzig[3], 1921), p. 686 ff.
[294] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 284.
[295] Deussen, *o.c.*, p. 686.
[296] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, § 52.

maṇakaSūtra, a text of, or for śramaṇas,[297] ascetics performing acts of austerity and mortification,[298] Haradatta on ĀpDhS. 2, 9, 21, 21 explains *śravāṇaka-* (*sic*, a variant) by *vaikhānasaṃ śāstram*, a piece of information which is in harmony with BaudhDS. 2, 6, 19 where a *vānaprastha-* is defined as one who follows the practices laid down in the Vaikhānasaśāstra. As will be seen further on the VaikhS. 8, 6; 9, 1-5 indeed details how a person on entering the order of the Vaikhānasas is to establish the śrāmaṇaka fire. Without going for the moment any further with the discussion of this 'fire', I must observe that an iṣṭi sacred to Prajāpati is in this connection also mentioned by Manu 6, 38 (see above).[299]

Chapter II contains an expatiation on the difference between the *gṛhastha-* who is an *āśramin-* and the *saṃnyāsin-*, chapter III the dīkṣā proper: after having abandoned his sacrificial fire he does not return to it. With the mantra AV. 11, 8, a mystic text, "especially on the constitution of man"[300] which refers to the ātman, he undertakes the dīkṣā. For that purpose he puts on the brown-red ascetic's habit,[301] removes the hair from arm-pit and abdomen and keeps his arm raised. Two usual practices recur: shaving and another dress. The posture may be considered one of those severe experiences testing the novice's power of endurance. The uncomplicated character of this consecration is also exhibited by the stanzas in chapter IV from which it appears that the ascetic also possessed a staff. The next lines and chapter V dealing with the meditation on, and the identification with, brahman can remain undiscussed here.

In another saṃnyāsa-upaniṣad,[302] the Ka(ṇ)ṭhaśruti ("Antritt des Saṃnyāsistandes und Schilderung desselben"), the dīkṣā of the wandering ascetic is dealt with in a similar way: "Nachdem er die Opferfeuer aufgegeben hat, soll er sie nicht wieder aufkommen lassen. Hierauf murmele er... AV. 11, 8, und nachdem er gesprochen: "wohl ergehe es allen Geschöpfen!", begehe er die Weihe (*dīkṣā-*). Braunrot sei das Gewand, die Haare an Achselhöhle und Scham beseitige er...., den Arm empor-

[297] See also Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, p. 917.
[298] For particulars see also GautSmṛti 3, 27; ĀpDhS. 2,9,21,21; VasDhS. 9, 10 and Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 919.
[299] "Prājāpatya rite, as prescribed in the Yajurveda; at this the giving away of all one's belongings is enjoined. After this has been performed, the fires are reposited by the man within himself..." (Medhātithi).
[300] Whitney-Lanman, *Atharva-veda saṃhitā*, p. 647.
[301] Compare also Ph. Oppenheim, *Symbolik und religiöse Wertung des Mönchskleides im christlichen Altertum* (München, 1932).
[302] See Deussen, *o.c.*, p. 696 ff.

gestreckt...", etc. (chapter 3 or 5).[303] According to chapter I of the Adyar edition he should even tear his hair together with the tuft on the crown of his head and henceforth feed on what he comes across, and only so much as to support life, partaking of food as if it were medicine. According to the ParamahaṃsaU. (2) an ascetic of the highest order (*paramahaṃsa-*) should live without staff, clothes, tuft of hair and sacred cord. The true saṃnyāsa however consists in the realization of the oneness of the individual 'soul' and the soul of the All (see also MaitreyaU. 3, 8).

At this point it should however be emphasized that notwithstanding the obvious tendences to retire from the world and to seclude themselves from the aryan society these hermits and anchorets could not separate themselves completely from the sphere of influence of the brahmans. The latter, becoming more and more inclined to regulate the behaviour of their fellow-men and to expand their ideas of dharma to all classes of men living within their horizon, did not miss the opportunity to give their verdict over the acceptability of the customs and practices of the recluses. As far as these could find favour in the eyes of the foremost representatives of definite schools of brahmanic thought they were approved, considered acceptable and incorporated, sometimes in sūtra or, more generally, in smṛti texts[304] (compare BaudhDhŚ. 2, 17). In details, however, authorities held different views. Whereas for instance some of them allowed the anchoret (*vānaprastha-*) to take his ritual fires with him, others enjoined him to give them up and kindle a new fire in accordance with special rules. One of the most conspicuous differences between the regulations for the vānaprasthas and those for "the fourth period of life", i.e. the saṃnyāsins, concerns the ritual fire(s); the latter group must not have a fire (see e.g. Manu 6, 43), a regulation which no doubt rests on the absence of ritual fires in the milieus of the recluses and on their being necessities in normal aryan life.

Some passages of the relevant texts make interesting reading for those who study the applications of the term *dīkṣā-*. It is quite clear that the author of the intricate classification of the vānaprasthas in BaudhDhŚ. 3, 3 has attempted to classify, as an ardent systematizer, the types of vānaprasthas which he actually knew or which he supposed, for the sake of his system, to exist. According to him five classes of ascetics may be distinguished, who take cooked food, and five classes who do not cook.

[303] In Schrader's text, p. 40 ...*ity adhyātmamantrāñ japet. svasti sarvajīvebhya itv uktvā dīkṣām upeyāt, kāṣāyavāsāḥ, kakṣopasthalomān varjayet...*
[304] See e.g. Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 917 ff.

Among the latter there are ascetics who eat food from their hands or who do not use their hands at all, eating like animals, etc. These ten modes of living are (3, 3, 15) called the Ten dīkṣās of the Vaikhānasas. Here also *dīkṣā-* practically means *vrata-*. Compare, in the same text, 1, 15, 29 *vratopeto dīkṣitaḥ syāt.*

It is for reasons of space not possible to quote the detailed prescriptions contained in the Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra (9, 1 ff.) in full.[305] What strikes us is, first the distinction made between a hermit living in the forest (*vanastha-*) and a *bhikṣu-* or *saṃnyāsin-*[306] and in the second place that the śrāmanaka-fire is a real fire, the rite of establishing it being described in 8, 6. In 9, 5 this fire is rightly stated to be only a modification of the sabhya-fire.[307] Stressing the similarities with other ceremonies mentioned in this chapter I draw attention to the usual shaving, which must be followed by the performance of a *prājāpatya-kṛcchra-* penance.[308] Like the upanayana – especially in case of a brahman[309] – the decisive step should be undertaken in spring – this season is also prescribed for the agniṣṭoma[310] –, during the bright half of the moon and under an auspicious asterism. "Let him rather begin it in spring, for the spring is the brāhmaṇa's season, and whoever sacrifices, sacrifices after becoming, as it were, a brahman" (ŚB. 13, 4, 1, 3). On the preceding day the performer of these rites, like the student who undertakes upanayana and samāvartana, has bathed, formulated his intention to become a hermit and drunk a decoction of kuśa-grass.[311] He should collect the objects required (as in the upanayana), i.e. fuel-sticks, a bamboo staff, a sacred string, a garment of bark. He should also churn a new fire, deposit it on the agnikuṇḍa, make obeisance to it and offer five prāyaścitta-libations. Thereupon he lays down two stalks of sacrificial grass, their tips pointing to the east, above these a stone, on which he places the great toe of his right foot. The gṛhyasūtras belonging to the black YV. contain a similar prescription for a boy who is to undertake upanayana: the guru makes him tread on a stone with the

[305] The reader may consult W. Caland's English translation (Calcutta, 1929), p. 197 ff.
[306] Cf. *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 284.
[307] I refer to Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 679.
[308] See especially Gampert, *o.c.*, p. 47 ff. (a well-known particular kind of religious mortification or penance, mainly consisting in fasting. It is inter alia to be undertaken by a *dvija-* who eats in the house of a *śūdra-*, by someone who treats a brahman unkindly, by a person who has had intercourse with women who must not be touched, by a *brahmacārin-* who eats meat). Cf. also Gampert, *o.c.*, p. 197.
[309] See Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 293.
[310] Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 1.
[311] See Gampert, *o.c.*, p. 48 (an element of a kṛcchra).

words "be firm like a stone..." (HGS. 1, 3, 14 etc.). He then puts on a garment of bark or goat's hide or a tattered cloth, the girdle, three sacred strings and, as upper garment, the hide of a black antelope: not essentially different from the upanayana. After having circumambulated the fire sunwise he sprinkles water on his head – the student performing the samāvartana besprinkles himself thrice – and partakes of the rest of the sacrificial butter. He sips water, honours the sun – an act which is also performed during the samāvartana – making a pradakṣiṇa, i.e. a turn sunwise, and mutters a modification of the Sāvitrī.[312] Then he enters the order of the hermits and formulates his intention to observe brahmacarya. After presenting oblations to Prajāpati and other deities, he undertakes the observances (the term used is *vrata-*) connected with the study of that part of the Veda which is dedicated to Prajāpati (remember the dīkṣās contained in MānavaGS.). He seizes a double bamboo-staff, shoes and an umbrella – compare, in the samāvartana: "he takes a turban, a parasol, shoes, and a bamboo-staff" –, performs the agnihotra, and offers to Prajāpati. All these acts are accompanied by mantras in which the name of Viṣṇu, in accordance with the character of the text, occurs several times. After having established his new fires, he offers oblations (kh. 4a). These prescriptions are followed by an account of the mode of living and the obligations of the hermit, which need not detain us here.

Khaṇḍa 6ff. deal with the proceedings of a person who, having passed his seventieth year, wishes to become a religious mendicant (*bhikṣu-* or *saṃnyāsin-*). For him also are imperative shaving, bathing, a Prajāpati penance and the collection of utensils. Thereupon he should perform various sacrificial rites. After throwing his sacrificial utensils into his fires and muttering the Sāvitrī, he formally renounces his former mode of life: "I enter into the order of the ascetics". Inhaling the smoke of his fires he makes them enter into himself. He then takes the girdle, the sacred string(s), the hide of a black antelope and an upper-garment "in the manner described formerly" (i.e. as in the upanayana, see 2, 5 end). He again bathes, sips water, restrains his breath sixteen times, recites the Sāvitrī a thousand or a hundred times and performs some rites, of which only the worship paid to the sun interests us here.

It is worth noticing that in this connection the term dīkṣā – without any qualification – could be used also. Dubois[313] speaking about the brahmanic ascetics says that these "pénitents et philosophes, vivant séparés

[312] See Oriens 16 (1963), p. 284 ff.

[313] J. A. Dubois, *Moeurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde*, Nouv. éd. (Pondichéry, 1921), p. 164 f.

du monde", "ne formaient pas, à cette époque, une tribu tellement intolérante et exclusive que des pénitents d'une caste différente ne pussent y être initiés par la cérémonie du dikcha ou l'investiture du triple cordon. On voit dans ces livres plusieurs exemples de ces initiations". This statement is corroborated by a curious epic passage (Mbh. 12, a. 66) in which the stages of life are called *bhaikṣāśrama-* (st. 5) or *brahmāśrama-* (st. 10), i.e. *brahmacarya-* (Nīlakaṇṭha); *kṣemāśrama-* (st. 6), i.e. *gārhasthya-* (st. 16), "the order of a householder"; and *dīkṣāśrama-* (st. 7), i.e. "the third stage of life" commonly called *vānaprasthāśrama-* (*vaikhānasaḥ*, Nīlakaṇṭha). Cf. st. 9 *pālanāt sarvabhūtānāṃ svarāṣṭraparipālanāt / dīkṣā bahuvidhā rājño vanyāśramapadaṃ bhavet.*

It is no use to expatiate here on the way of living of these ascetics and anchorites. The only point which may interest us is that there is from various sources some evidence that they sometimes organized well-knit bodies, observing rites, ceremonies and rules of discipline, professing a particular faith or doctrine, and recognizing one of their members as their leader.[314]

One of these communities was that of the Ājīvikas, a body of ascetics which, emerging at the same time as Buddhism and Jainism, was characterized by a rigorous discipline. New members seem normally to have been inducted into their order only after an initiation ceremony.[315] In this milieu also this ceremony seems in the beginning to have varied considerably from one group to another. There are even stories of unscrupulous men "who initiated themselves into a profitable career of asceticism by the simple process of losing their clothes".[316] When for instance Pūraṇa's clothes were stolen and he entered a village as naked as on the day of his birth, he was believed to be a holy man and given alms; being much impressed by the ease with which he gained a living in the state of nudity he remained so and acquired a great reputation as an ascetic and teacher.[317] Apparently however Makkhali Gosāla's organization of the loosely knit ascetics introduced some regularity into the procedure of admission to the order.

It seems that in early times an Ājīvika was sometimes initiated by a painful ordeal (burning the hands by grasping a heated lump).[318] This

[314] See e.g. A. L. Basham, *History and doctrines of the Ājīvikas* (London, 1951), p. 3 ff.; 11 ff.; Nalinaksha Dutt, *Early monastic Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1960), ch. III; I. B. Horner, *The early Buddhist theory of man perfected* (London, 1936), p. 21 ff.

[315] Basham, *o.c.*, p. 104.

[316] See Basham, *o.c.*, p. 37; 82 f.; 102; 104.

[317] Buddhaghoṣa, *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, I, p. 142.

[318] Jātaka, III, p. 542.

trial – which was also known to Northern Buddhists[319] – was probably an ordeal intended to render the novice oblivious to physical pain and to test his resolution. Another Pāli reference[320] seems to show that those ordeals may even have resulted in mutilation and deformity. From a story handed down in the Dhammapada Commentary[321] it may probably be concluded that instead of hair-cutting the early Ājīvikas, like the Jainas, extracted the hair by the roots, although there are other sources of information to show that they were not always tonsured or clean-shaven.[322] A curious feature mentioned in the same connection and which according to Japanese Buddhist sources was part of the Ājīvika's ascetic technique[323] is burial up to the neck. "The pit in which the novice was placed may have symbolized his spiritual rebirth from the womb of Mother Earth, or, since burial was not unknown in Ancient India, his 'death to the world.'" As will be seen further certain Tantrist initiation rites, known from later sources, involved the performance of one's own funeral rites. It may also be recalled that the brāhmaṇa texts dealing with the classical soma sacrifice contain unmistakable allusions to the self-sacrifice and death of the consecrated yajamāna or of other consecrated persons. Thus JB. 2, 222 it reads in connection with the vrātyas:[324] *mriyanta iva vā ete ye vrātyāṃ dhāvayanti* "those who go out on a vrātya expedition die as it were". In JUB. 3, 11, 3 the dīkṣā is equated with death: *athaitad dvitīyam mriyate yad dīkṣate* "then he dies for the second time, when he consecrates himself". TS. 7, 4, 9 and PB. 4, 9, 20f. explain a series of ritual acts as a sort of slow self-sacrifice. "They kindle themselves with the dīkṣās[325] ...; in the sattra (i.e. great soma sacrifice lasting more than twelve days) the self is the sacrificial gift; verily taking the self as the gift they go to the world of heaven" (TS.).

In Jainism and Buddhism the loose connection between teacher and disciples developed into "gigantic monastic covenants".[326] The 'initiation' and 'education' of the Jains bear considerable resemblance to the above rites and customs.[327] The teacher (*āyariya-* i.e. *ācārya-* or *dhamm'-āyariya-*) supervises the introduction, the admission, the tuition of the pupil (*antevāsī*, notice the traditional terms). The requisites and equipment of the latter as well as the alms received must be shown to him. Like the Buddhists the Jains instituted a second function, that of the *uvajjhāya-* (*upadhyāya-*) whose task it is to teach the texts (*sutta-*; *sūtra-*) of the community, the meaning of which is explained by the *āyariya-*. One can join the order, i.e. become a novice (*śiṣya-*) at the age of seven and a half: the brahman candidate for upanayana must be in his eighth year. The aspirant's hair is cut. Normally, nobody was allowed to enter noviciate during the rainy season. After a reasonable period of probation in which the conduct of the novice was noticed, he was confirmed as a full member of the order by imposing on him the vows etc. This solemn induction is called *uvaṭṭhāvaṇa-* (i.e. *upasthāpana-*); in later times also *dikkhā-*, i.e. *dīkṣā-*. This term is translated by "consecration" and "renouncement of the world".[328] On this occasion one is *inter alia* given a new name. During important acts, such as study, confession, one has to turn east- or northward; as is well known these directions are of special importance in brahmanic rites,[329] the "door of heaven being in the north-east".[330]

Among the Buddhists the most fundamental division is that between monks – their élite – and householders. A monastic life alone will normally provide the conditions favourable to a spiritual life. It was, and is, regulated by definite ancient rules, which were considered to be of special importance. Passing on to the acceptance into the Buddhist order and referring for particulars to the handbooks, it may be presumed to be generally known that there is, in Buddhism also, the *pravrajyā* – the term which means "leaving the world; adopting the ascetic life" is also used for ascetic or homeless life in general – i.e. the preliminary and preparatory entry into monkhood as a novice – and a 'second ordination', called *upasampadā*, the admission proper to the ranks of the recognized bhikṣus.[331]

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319 L. Wieger, *A history of the religious beliefs and philosophical opinions in China* (Hsien-hsien, 1927), p. 431.
320 Jātaka, VI, p. 219 ff., discussed by Basham, p. 104 f.
321 Dhp. Comm. II, p. 52.
322 Basham, *o.c.*, p. 106.
323 See Basham, *o.c.*, p. 106; 112.
324 See p. 289; 326.
325 See also Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 608.
326 G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1936), p. 260.
327 In general, W. Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1935), p. 159 ff.; A. Guérinot, *La religion djaina* (Paris, 1926), p. 303 ff.; on monks etc. H. v. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus* (Berlin, 1925), p. 336 ff.; Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo, *History of Jaina monachism* (Poona, 1956), p. 214 ff.; H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras* (S. B. E. 22) (Oxford, 1884), Introduction.
328 Sh. Ratnachandraji Maharaj, *An illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary*, III (Limbdi, 1930), p. 159.
329 Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 375; 397 (in general); Gopal, p. 298 (upanayana).
330 Keith, *o.c.*, p. 411.
331 See especially H. Härtel, Karmavācanā, Berlin 1956, p. 58-92; for a short résumé see also E. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* (Louvain, 1958), p. 61 f. (with a bibliography); I. B. Horner, *The Book of Discipline*, vol. I-IV (London, 1949-62), Introduction, passim; J. G. Jennings, *The Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha* (London, ³1949), p. 98 ff. Other bibliographical references: H. W. Bailey, "The Tumshuq Karmavā-

Some years ago Paul Lévy[332] published an interesting book which, onesided though it may be,[333] has the merit of drawing attention to some ritual practices of Buddhism which in most descriptions of this religion remain in the back-ground. Arguing that no one hitherto has satisfactorily accounted for the fact that the Buddhist ritual of ordination was, and still is, characterized by a collection of acts and prescribed forms remarkable for their unexpectedness, he made an attempt to examine the mythical traditions which the Buddhist connect with the origins of their community and to show that the initiatory practices of Buddhism are largely similar to these prevalent in the so-called mystery religions. The parallelisms of myth and ritual thus established led him to the conclusion that the initiatory aspects of the earliest phase of Buddhism have often been overlooked.

One of the points which Professor Lévy, while considering Buddhism in an uncommon light, has, in his turn, failed to observe is that a considerable part of the initiatory rites and practices[334] mentioned in his book may be parallelled, not only by rites widely practised in mystery religions but also by those brahmanic rites and customs which are studied in this chapter. A comparison with the oldest texts however shows that in many cases they were not always known to the early Buddhists.[335] Although Buddhist ritual does not play a great part and many texts have little to say concerning entry into the order and the attainment of the various monastic ranks, a close examination of the relevant facts brings, as far as the Theravādin communities are concerned, to light that for instance in Cambodia full ordination can only be administered during a short period beginning the 15th of April:[336] again the old preference for 'springtime'.[337] Dwelling only upon those features which we now know are common to a variety of Indian rituals I recall the prescription that the candidate for pravrajyā must at least be eight years old; the novice's dressing in a white

canā", in *BSOAS.* 13 (1949-1950), p. 649 f. The admission of laymen (Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 50 ff.) may be left undiscussed. – I also refer to my remarks on the Buddhist brahmacarya in the preceding chapter.

332 P. Lévy, *Buddhism: a 'mystery religion'* (London, 1957).

333 I fail to see why it should be suggested that having an eye for the initiatory aspects of Buddhism should prevent us from considering it a doctrine of salvation.

334 The ceremonial formulae for the order of acts (*karma*, the term is also Vedic and Hindu) in the upasampada ceremony is contained in texts called Karmavācanā or Karmavākyā (see e.g. A. Ch. Banerjee, in *Ind. Hist. Quart.* 25 (1949), p. 19 ff.).

335 See also Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 58; 62.

336 Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 6.

337 See also Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 31.

cotton garment – a sign that he is taking leave of 'the world of pleasure'[338] –; his dressing as a monk and his being shaven. The "yellow robe" is a sign of his entry into the saṃgha. Before this moment the Burmese bath the novice, "since for them it corresponds to the occasion when the Buddha immersed himself in the River Anomā".[339] One might however safely assume this feature which is also mentioned in the Karmavācanā[340] to reach back to earlier, i.e. pre-Buddhist, times.

There is a procession which on arrival at the monastery goes round it in a triple pradakṣiṇā. The novice stands facing the statue of the Buddha and his *upādhyāya-*, i.e. the master chosen as his ordinant, whose prevalent importance should be noted in all cases.[341] Turning towards him he makes the declaration that he has chosen him as his ordinant and spiritual guide. In reply the ordinant enjoins him to adhere to "the discipline of the recluse". Remember the injunctions laid down in JGS. 1, 12: "Be a student of the Veda, in obedience to the teacher with subdued senses, sleeping on the ground, bearing the staff, the girdle, and the antelope-skin...". The Cambodian upadhyāya after passing a white sash round the novice's neck – in Ceylon[342] a yellow cord is fastened round the same part of his body –, gives him the ten essential rules for a monk to keep, and the young man promises to respect them. In Cambodia, and possibly elsewhere,[343] the ceremony is continued by the reading of the prātimokṣa, i.e. the code of moral duties for the monks and nuns.[344] Theoretically this meeting takes place in secret. After confession[345] the relatives of the new monk offer gifts to the saṃgha, and in particular to the upādhyāya and the abbot. All then unite in prayer, after which follows the sprinkling of lustral water. The new monk, who has his hands, arms and head sprinkled by the upādhyāya, takes after further prayers and "in order to call the earth to witness his promise" a small flask of water and pours out its contents on the ground, "in accordance with ancient customs".

"Nach der Wahl des Upādhyāya hat der Kandidat von diesem die drei Mönchsgewänder zu erbitten... Dieser Bitte folgt die Bitte um die Schale

338 A. Leclère, *Le Buddhism au Cambodge* (Paris, 1899), p. 406.

339 G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma* (1943), p. 23, quoted by Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 15; see Jennings, *o.c.*, p. LXXXV.

340 Cf. also S. S. Hardy, *Eastern monachism* (London, 1860), p. 23; I. P. Minayeff, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme* (Paris, 1894), p. 298.

341 Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 17.

342 These ceremonies were described from personal observation in Ceylon by J. F. Dickson, *J.R.A.S.* (1875), p. 1 ff.

343 Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 12.

344 See e.g. Nalinaksha Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, p. 151 ff.

345 For the Northern Buddhists see Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 44.

(*pātra-*)".[346] Compare HGS. 1, 7, 11: after giving the student the staff the teacher gives him a bowl (*amatram*, i.e. *mṛnmayaṃ bhājanam*, comm.) and says to him: "go out for alms". An Indian oath should be taken in the presence of water (ĀpDhS. 2, 11, 29, 7 *apām ante*).[347] Donations should be made while pouring out water, because they are considered promises or covenants;[348] the water was poured on the hand of the donor or on the earth.[349] That this custom goes back to a remote age may be concluded from the Vedic rite called Tānūnaptra:[350] the officiants and the yajamāna, taking a sort of oath, touch water (ŚB. 3, 4, 3, 11; ĀpŚS. 11, 1, 11).[351] At the end of the ceremony the ordained monk again pours water from a vessel to the ground; whatever the modern interpretation, a symbol of the defeat of Māra and of the calling to witness of the Earth, the original significance of this act might have been the confirmation of the solemn promise to give oneself to the Order and to his new task.[352] Finally there is the offering of food (cooked rice) to the bonzes.

In South-East Asian Theravādin communities young people cannot properly attain adult status without a period of monastic training (remember the upanayana).

In some Buddhist regions the novice is mocked by his fellows,[353] an incident which some authors seem to have considered normal,[354] and which provokes immoderate laughter of the congregations. There are puranic parallels. Besides, we are reminded of the tests and ordeals inflicted on the Aryan boy who underwent upanayana (cf. e.g. Mbh. 1, a. 3).[355] There is also similarity in a formular used for the admission. After the threefold formula: "I have recourse to the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Community" the candidate pronounces the words "consider me to be a worshipper" (*upāsakaṃ māṃ dhāraya*).[356]

[346] Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 74 f.
[347] See also H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951-1959), p. 28 ff.; 669 f.
[348] Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 32.
[349] "Der Schwur beim Wasser kehrt nun in Indien, vielfach völlig unverstanden, immer wieder, insbesondere beim Vertragseid. Bei der Adoption, der Übergabe eines Sohnes an einen andern, bei jeder Schenkung wird noch heutzutage, nicht nur in Indien, sondern überall, wohin indische Kultur gedrungen ist, Wasser ausgegossen, ohne dasz man sich über die Bedeutung des Ritus klar wäre" (Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 669).
[350] See Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 127.
[351] I also refer to p. 220.
[352] I cannot completely subscribe to Lévy's remarks, *o.c.*, p. 22 f.
[353] A. Raquez, *Pages laotiennes* (Hanoï, 1902), p. 193.
[354] E. Young, *The kingdom of the yellow robe* (London, [3]1907), p. 257.
[355] See also R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian education* (London, 1947), p. 330 ff.
[356] See E. Lamotte, *Le traité de la Grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna*, II (Louvain, 1949), p. 829 ff. See also further on, p. 390.

In connection with the questions put to the candidate with regard to his 'identity' and his being reminded that he must speak the truth we may recall the interview between teacher and pupil (upanayana): "the former, having asked the boy's name, asks: are you a *samānārṣeya-...*", etc. (ŚGS. 2, 2, 4ff; cf. KauśS. 55, 10). As to the replacement of the lay name by a religious name[357] we have not only reason for supposing that a name was sometimes changed after studentship: Mbh. 1, 3, 31, but are also reminded of ŚB. 9, 4, 3, 13 "these (deities) come to have two names as he who is consecrated comes to have two names etc." There is also a counterpart of the blindfolding of the aspirant in Hindu rites: when in Laos the highest rank is being conferred on a bonze, he is led out of the bathing cabin with clasped hands, like a blind man, and is taken along 'the eight-fold path'. In this way he passes through all possible existences without stopping in any.[358] There are of course points of difference. For instance the ordination is only conferred upon a candidate in a solemn session of at least ten monks[359] and the monk who presides over the ordination does so with the aid of two assistants, one to scrutinize the past life of the aspirant, the other to make sure that he is fit to receive ordination.

"The priests attending the chapter are required to give their undivided, unremitting, and devout attention throughout the service. Every priest is instructed to join heart and mind in the exhortations, responses, formulas, etc. and to correct every error, lest the oversight of a single mistake should vitiate the efficacy of the rite".[360] Mutatis mutandis, similar rules apply to the Vedic teacher who must, before instructing his pupils, abstain from sexual intercourse[361] and meat-eating and leave the village in the north-eastern direction without looking at things which impede the study of the Veda.[362] It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the many striking similarities between the 'abstinencies' enjoined upon the Buddhist monks and the observances of the brahmanic brahmacārins or the lines of conduct laid down for brahmans and ascetics. Both groups of prescriptions are only special varieties of the generally Indian mode of ascetic life. When the Buddhist is trained in ahiṃsā, in abstinence from taking what is not given, in brahmacarya, in truthfulness, in abstinence

[357] Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 46; also in the Karmavācanā, Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 70; cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Hibbert Lectures* (London, 1881), p. 39.
[358] Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 105.
[359] Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 59.
[360] Dickson, *o.c.*, p. 2.
[361] See also R. Pettazzoni, *La confession des péchés*, I (Paris, 1931), p. 161 ff.
[362] See Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 308.

from intoxicating drinks, etc. it may be observed that injury to living beings was also forbidden to a snātaka (Manu, 4, 148 etc.) and particularly to ascetics (id. 6, 39 etc.); that ChU. 3, 17, 4 *ārjavam ahiṃsā satyavacanam* are added to *tapo dānam*; that the year-long abstinence from meat, sexual intercourse, speaking untruth, sleeping on a bed, anointing body and eyes and washing one's feet is ĀpŚS. 22, 3, 16f. explicitly considered a dīkṣā; that speaking the truth is enjoined ŚB. 11, 5, 3, 13 etc.; as we know the Vedic dīkṣita must speak the truth;[363] BaudhGS. 2, 10, 18 enjoins the five main and five minor vows upon brahmanic ascetics;[364] Manu 6, 92 gives a list of the ten commandments for an ascetic, among which are *asteya-* and *satya-* and 10, 63 the same authority declares *ahiṃsā-*, *satya-*, *asteya-*, *śauca-*, *indriyaparigraha-* to be the summary of dharma for the four varṇas. Moreover, *ahiṃsā-*, *satya-*, *asteya-*, *brahmacarya-*, *aparigraha-* are the well-known five yamas of Yoga (Pat. YS. 2, 30).[365]

Turning now to legend or history it is interesting to note that the first persons who were ordained, the merchants Tapussa and Bhallika, pronounced the formula[366] "Lord, we take refuge in the Blessed one and in his doctrine. Receive us, o Blessed one, as disciples"[367] which may be held to correspond to the solemn declaration of the Aryan boy: "I have come here for brahmacarya; initiate me" (*upa mā nayasva*, KauśS. 55, 9) and the stereotype request of the Hindu candidate. Later on the Buddha laid down that the candidate, when he had been duly shaved and dressed in yellow, must kneel and say thrice over that he takes the Three Refuges. The disciples, in accordance with a prescribed ceremonial, must – like the Aryan boy or, on his behalf, his father – choose the upādhyāya[368] who would thenceforward be his spiritual father and with whom he would live. In this point also this early Buddhist ceremony was, irrespective of details, not original, whatever its significance as an example or as the mythical prototype might have been for ensuing generations[369].

[363] See above, p. 338. Cf. BĀU. 3,9,23.
[364] Cf. Jacobi, *o.c.*, p. XXIII f.
[365] For later additions etc. see e.g. S. Lindquist, *Die Methoden des Yoga* (Lund, 1932), p. 24.
[366] See Mahāvagga, 1, 4.
[367] See also Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 58.
[368] As is well known ordination took place before two functionaries, the upādhyāya and the ācārya, whose duties are not always well-defined: Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 63.
[369] For Northern Buddhism, see L. Wieger, *Vinaya, monachisme et discipline* (Paris, 1951) (reprint), p. 195 ff. For ancient Buddhism now see also A. Bareau, "Buddhismus", *Die Religionen Indiens*, III (Stuttgart, 1964), p. 299, s.v. Ordination.

E. DĪKṢĀ AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN GENERAL

In a survey of relevant facts which onesidedly emphasizes the similarities between Vedic and post-Vedic consecratory and initiatory ceremonies some attention should be drawn to the different social setting and the different evaluation of rites and ceremonies which, generally speaking, have much in common. A point which in the existing handbooks of Indian ritual and the history of Indian religions has not always received due attention concerns the more or less voluntary character of the Vedic dīkṣā and the admission of individuals to Hindu 'sects' or religious groups (*saṃpradāyas*) on the one hand and the more or less compulsory institution of upanayana on the other. As far as we are able to know, those who in Hindu times joined a 'sect' or a group of worshippers following the tenets and practises of a definite religious movement were generally free to take or not to take this step. Like the Vedic *dīkṣita-* their desire to undergo an 'initiation' springs mainly from individual motives and serves mainly private purposes. The vehemence with which those who failed to undertake the upanayana ceremony were condemned shows, on the other hand, that these Aryas were considered unsocial individuals, who excluded themselves from the membership of the brahman, kṣatriya and vaiśya orders. The "social boycott and ostracism"[370] suffered by these persons is no doubt one of those ancient features of this institution which bring its social aspect to the fore.

Those who do not have their upanayana performed within the age-limits prescribed are indeed condemned as "deprived of the Sāvitrī mantra" (*sāvitrīpatitāḥ* or *patitasāvitrikāḥ*). They are, according to Vyāsa,[371] to be "shunned with care" (*parihāryāḥ prayatnataḥ*). "No one should have any dealings with them such as teaching or performing sacrifices for them" (cf. ŚGS. 2, 1, 9-13). Another authority adds even matrimonial connections to this enumeration (see Manu 2, 39); "intercourse, eating and intermarriage with them should be avoided" (ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 33). They are *sarvadharmabahiṣkṛtāḥ* (Yājñ. 1, 38).[372] He, whose father and grandfather have not undertaken upanayana, is like these ancestors, called "a slayer of brahman" (ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 32): quite consistently, because brahman must be kept alive by oral transmission (Mbh. 12, 79, 42 cr. ed.). If nothing is known about the upanayana of one's great-grandfather one deserves the name of "burial-place". These persons

[370] Mookerji, *Ancient Indian education*, p. 176.
[371] Quoted by Mookerji, *l.c.*
[372] For particulars see also Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 322 f.

might be reclaimed by penances and expiatory ceremonies, which need not however detain us here.[373]

Whether Van der Leeuw's statement that "the primitive world recognized only sacred, and not specifically religious, communities, solely sacred, no specifically religious acts",[374] is right or to a certain extent open to objection, any evidence, in ancient times, of groups which released themselves from the community to which they belonged in order to pursue specifically religious acts or to attain salvation in some quite distinctive way should attract the attention of those interested in the history of consecration and initiation. It is, moreover, perfectly true that the community in its entirety cannot be understood in its essence without taking these particular trends and currents into consideration.[375] Those who sever themselves from their community and, forming a more or less coherent or organized group may be 'ecstatics' tending to forming 'mysteries societies' or they may be said to constitute a 'sect' or – to avoid misunderstanding[376] – a (particular religious) group characterized by a more or less complete or formulated heterodox doctrine and particular way of life and cultural customs which are "merely the manifestation of a conviction", of the sort of attitude that creates the sect. In practice however a group may be a 'sect' (in the above sense) as well as a mystery society.

Given this historical development, it is evident that no small degree of comfort and a prospect of final emancipation or a happy after-life was afforded to the devotees of these religions. We are to a certain extent – and taking into account the difference on many points between India and Classical Antiquity – reminded of the antique worships which generally are known collectively as the mystery-cults.[377] Their characteristic being that certain initiations were needed for admission, they enjoined the

[373] For particulars see e.g. W. Gampert, *Die Sühnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur* (Praha, 1939), p. 169 f.

[374] G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1933), p. 261. It would appear to me that at least for archaic periods we are not in a position to prove beyond doubt the correctness of the author's next statement: "to it (the primitive world) any special cultivation of religious life ... was quite foreign".

[375] See J. Wach, *Religionswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1924), p. 162.

[376] The definition "a sect is a body of persons who hold certain religious or philosophical doctrines in common, esp. a body whose beliefs are at variance with those commonly held" may of course be adopted, but in common usage the term is often applied to those who break away from a church so as to form a schismatic body.

[377] The reader may be referred to M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (München, 1941-1950), I, p. 440 ff.; 619 ff. (this book was translated into English by F. J. Fielden, *A history of Greek religion*, Oxford, 1925); R. Pettazzoni, *I misteri, Bologna* (w.y.); O. Kern, *Die griechischen Mysterien der klassischen Zeit* (Berlin, 1927).

aspirants or initiates to perform rites which we know very well from India, e.g. bathing (in the sea), baptism, purification, fasting, sitting on an animal's skin, drinking of a potion containing a mixture of various ingredients. The best known feature of Orphic religion was abstinence from killing animals and vegetarianism. The Homeric hymns to Demeter which gives us some information concerning these rites ends by promising to those initiated a new birth[378] or wealth and a happy life in the Underworld. At some time during the ritual the devotee of Attis drank milk, and as this is the food of babies it was interpreted by some at least as a symbol of rebirth.[379] However, moral notions came to be associated with the mysteries, and gentleness and righteousness were added to ritual purity. Those who were initiated in Samothrake bound themselves to confession and dignified behaviour. In the course of time individual edification seems to have come more to the fore. Though impressive, the rites might be interpreted variously so as to conform to the religious needs of various people and every age. When religion was individualized and got detached from the state and the family the propensity for mystic cults rose. In Hellenistic and Roman times the religious precepts became more detailed and binding then before. There were purifications, baptisms, sacraments, asceticism and rites with magical efficacy. They promised the transfiguration of their devotees, deliverance and a happy after-life. It seems likely that anyone who had undergone the taurobolium was 'reborn', not as a human being but as Attis.[380] The adherents were sometimes divided into two or more classes or grades.

What, generally speaking, constitutes these particular groups is the choice, the characteristic tendencies by which they stand out from the community at large. "Their choice is experienced as vocation, their specific powerfulness as their special charisma".[381] What often[382] characterizes them is a strong inclination to identify faith and experience, to perfect their particular principles and way of life. The group or at least those of its members who are completely accepted and generally recognized as patterns of the virtues which it preaches tend to become a more or less 'consecrated community'. The 'teacher', who bases a doctrine and a path on his own experience, is an instrument of salvation, and in India not rarely more than that, the guru being often revered as divine and con-

[378] Kern, *o.c.*, p. 10 f.

[379] H. J. Rose, *Religion in Greece and Rome* (New York, 1959), p. 279.

[380] Rose, *o.c.*, p. 278.

[381] Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, p. 262.

[382] but not always.

sidered absolutely necessary for salvation. He is not only a preacher and instructor, but also a hallowed model imitated to as high a degree as possible in the assimilation of life. It may be assumed that also in ancient India more or less loose connections between teachers and disciples tended to develop into groups which in the course of time were recognized as such by outsiders and which internally differentiated themselves from the community at large as well as other groups by particular convictions and practices, and at least in regard to part of their members, by a form of initiation exhibiting features of tribal and mysteries initiation.[383]

If such a 'sectarian community' is bound by vows and tends to split off into a group which is inclined to "leave the world", or like the Buddhists "to go forth from home into homelessness" – which is considered to be a state of purity and freedom[384] leading to salvation – and a group of adherents and devotees who are not, or not yet, willing or able to take this step, the former group can assume the character of an order, and not rarely even monastic tendencies may forge ahead. In the order powerfulness not to be acquired in the 'world' is acquired, a common sanctity attained in and through a common cult, a form of initiation and particular vows and observances. This 'inner circle', unable to rest content with mere life, seeks sacred life, replete with power. Rites guarantee its members power and this power can mean, or may lead to, salvation. The rites are, in a majority of cases, purifications, for what is not pure and released from evil cannot come into touch with the divine.[385] 'Evil' or 'dirt' include all the hindrances and annoyances which prevent the renewal and perpetuation of life. Bathing and baptism, being lustrative and initiatory, are to make life "true"; they induce sacred power, expel the evil influences, and mean a "washing of regeneration". "The real aim of the various tests and purifications ...... is always the renewal of life, the induction of that power which makes possible a new era".[386]

Sceptic philosophers were however not wanting. Dīkṣā, the Jain author Somadeva holds (in connection with the ideas nursed by the Vaiśeṣikas), cannot bring about salvation, as it is seen that the worldly blemishes which existed before initiation persist even after the completion of the rite.[387]

[383] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems* (Strassburg, 1913), p. 1 ff.; 102 ff.; *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 214 ff.
[384] See e.g. H. Oldenberg, *Buddha* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1921), p. 394 ff.
[385] Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, ch. 49; F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 186 f.
[386] Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, p. 196.
[387] K. K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian culture* (Sholapur, 1949), p. 186.

The opinion ventured by Farquhar[388] is in all probability not completely right. The devotee i.e. a Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva layman in the Hindu period chooses – he argues – a guru with whom he establishes a permanent spiritual relation, and this guru is worshipped as a representative of the Lord. "It was perhaps the coming of the guru that led also to the institution of the sectarian dīkṣā, or ceremony of initiation". I would rather opine that the institution of guruship whether held by the father or by a 'priest' has always involved one form of initiation or other. The guru being, in older times, the learned brahman of model behaviour, was in virtue of his knowledge of mantras and rites invited to acquit himself of sacerdotal duties, and part of these rites were 'initiatory' in character. Moreover, in a society which clung to the idea that no entrance into another period of life, no religiously important act could take place successfully without the performance of a preparatory rite, an obligatory solemn admission to a religious community must have been as self-evident as the more or less 'initiatory' character of that ceremony.

In order to show the similarity of initiatory, consecratory and lustrative ceremonies and the identity of some of their component ritual acts, a brief examination may now by way of digression be made of the so-called Hindu "royal inauguration ceremony" called Puṣyasnāna. Reserving this ceremony for further consideration in another publication I would recall here that Varāhamihira's long description (Vār. BS. ch. 48)[389] of this "purification while the moon is passing through the asterism Puṣya" (*nomen est omen, puṣya-* meaning also "the best of anything") is intended "to keep the king in a good condition, in a state of perfection, correctness and 'sanctity' (*saṃskāra-*, st. 1) rather than consecrate or inaugurate him. Hence also the term *śānti-* (st. 2) "propitiating and expiatory rite". It is conducted by the purohita and the astrologer on an auspicious place in a forest, in a pure building on consecrated ground, on beautiful sandy river banks, in a hermitage etc. The priest having, in the ancient way, set out in an easterly, northerly, or northeasterly direction, invokes "all the divine beings to receive our worship". The formula (st. 20) is not Vedic. Thereupon the ground should be prepared and a diagram drawn, in the compartments of which various deities are considered to dwell. These deities are likewise in the 'Hinduist' way worshipped. The priest then proceeds to kindle fire on the vedi (st. 34) and brings the usual ingredients. Water-jars are arranged and covered with sprouts; they contain the water for the

[388] J. N. Farquhar, *The crown of Hinduism* (Oxford, 1913), p. 380.
[389] Translated by H. Kern, *J.R.A.S.* 1871 (= *Verspreide Geschriften*, I) ('s-Gravenhage, 1913), p. 311 ff.

puṣyasnāna. Four skins (two bull's, a lion's, a tiger's) are spread out on the vedi; on these skins a throne is placed, on which the king, who wears a new linen garment, is to take his seat. Solemn acclamations of bards, brahmans etc. are raised. The purohita wraps the monarch in a woolen blanket and, after making a libation, pours over him the contents of the jars filled with ghee (st. 50), and after taking off the blanket, the water destined for the rite (st. 54): "Whatever evil (*kilbiṣam*) has reached thee, that must come to nought by contact with this glossy liquid ......"; "the gods must sprinkle thee ....; they must graciously consecrate (*abhiṣiñcantu*) thee with water that destroys all evil omens, and bestow on thee hail, a long life and health". These are the mantras recited, as well as others prescribed in the ritual of the Atharvaveda and the formulas called Rudragaṇa (*rudro ye 'syāṃ prācī dik*[390]); Kūṣmāṇḍa (these are found TĀ. 10, 3 ff. and mentioned e.g. Manu 8, 106);[391] Mahārauhiṇa (Rauhiṇa is in the MatsyaP. mentioned as a branch of Sāman for recitation at śrāddhas); Kuberahṛdaya ("Kubera's secret science") and Samṛddhi. The washing finished, the king has to put on cotton garments over which have been muttered AV. 1, 5, 1-3 = ṚV. 10, 9, 1-3 (see also TĀ. 4, 42, 4 etc.),[392] the so-called *Āpohiṣṭhīya* mantras, which being of extremely frequent ritual application, occur (ŚGS. 3, 1, 4; HGS. 1, 10, 2; MGS. 1, 2, 11) also in the samāvartana ceremonies. These stanzas are followed by the so-called *Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ*, i.e. AV. 1, 33, 1 ff., which are likewise prescribed HGS. 1, 10, 2; MGS. 1, 2, 11. The king then puts on his new apparel (*alaṃkāra-*) which has been consecrated with the stanzas "Bestowing splendour, length of life, increase of wealth ...." (ṚVkh. 10, 128, 1 ff.; ĀśvGS. 3, 8, 21 with these words the student who is about to go home puts on a golden neck-ornament;[393] also used HGS. 1, 10, 6 and ŚGS. 3, 1, 7, samāvartana).[394] Finally, the purohita presents a burnt offering, the astrologer expounds the foretokens of the fire, and the gods are invited to take their leave.

This ceremony may be performed when evil portents and calamities are afflicting the kingdom. It is very salutary, not only for a king who aspires

390 See AVPar. 32, 16.

391 See also Gampert, *o.c.*, p. 74 etc. – Keśava on Kauś. Sūtra 61, 15-17 makes mention of formules "which cause the prosperity (or success) of rites" (*samṛddhibhiḥ*). See also my note on the translation of the Savādhyāya of Kauś. which is to appear in the Proceedings of the Amsterdam Academy.

392 Cf. Whitney-Lanman, *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā*, p. 5.

393 Cf. also A. F. Stenzler, "Indische Hausregeln", I, *A.K.M.* 4, 1 (Leipzig, 1865), p. 104.

394 See also J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda* (Breslau, 1906), p. 118; Gonda, *The Ṛgvidhāna* (Utrecht, 1951), p. 106.

to the rank of an 'emperor' or who longs for the birth of a son – in both cases the monarch enters upon another stage in life –, but also at his inauguration (*tatpūrvam abhiṣeke*, st. 86). That is to say, it may be performed instead of consecration in the proper sense of the term, although it is on the other hand a lustration ceremony which may also be executed to wash one's horses and elephants (st. 87). We should not be surprised at this statement, because some of the ancient authorities prescribed a method of upanayana for the aśvattha tree which is performed even nowadays.[395] It is interesting to add that in 44, 15 the same author, Varāhamihira, uses the term *dīkṣita-* in connection with the lustration of horses and elephants: "After consecrating and washing a horse marked with lucky signs and a choice elephant ..." (*lakṣaṇayuktaṃ turagaṃ dviradavaraṃ caiva dīkṣitaṃ snātam*).

What is, finally, especially interesting is that this ceremony, which is to be performed in the month Pauṣya, is an annually repeated unction that is in all probability a very ancient form of rite. It was at the time supposed by F. W. Thomas[396] that the rājasūya[397] was, in a similar way, a regularly repeated (annual) quickening rite to be undergone by kings.

For the lustrative or purificatory aspects of the 'classical' Vedic dīkṣā one might in this connection compare MS. 3, 6, 2: 61, 1 *apsu dīkṣāṃ praveśayitvā devāḥ svargaṃ lokam āyan. yad apsu snāti tām eva dīkṣām ālabhate. atha yad apo 'vabhṛtam abhyavarti tāṃ vā etad dīkṣāṃ punar apsu praveśayati* "after having caused the 'initiation' to enter the waters the gods went to heaven. In that one bathes in water, one takes hold of (undertakes) that 'initiation'. Now, in that one descends into water for the avabhṛta ceremony (the 'final ablution') one causes the initiation to enter again the waters". In this connection it is worth noticing that at the entrance of early temples the images of the rivers, which have their source and origin in heaven and descend to the earth, are carved to either side of the lintel. The power of the flowing waters here clearly lies in their celestial nature and origin. In the later temples their images are stationed on either side, at the bottom of the door; "the current and ripples of flowing waters are in their swaying stances". "To look at them is equal in effect to the ritual bath in their waters ...... Ablution, transmutation, and initiation are effected at the entrance. This indeed is its initial and essential meaning in sacred architecture ......".[398]

395 Kane, *o.c.*, II, 299 f.

396 F. W. Thomas in *Hastings Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics* I, p. 23.

397 See p. 331 ff. and Heesterman, *Royal consecration*, p. 7, n. 8.

398 S. Kramrisch, *The Hindu temple* (Calcutta, 1946), p. 314 f.

F. DĪKṢĀ IN VIṢṆUISM (PĀÑCARĀTRA, ŚRĪ-VAIṢṆAVAS)

Viṣṇuism felt the need of initiation to the life of devotion very strongly. Although this tendency should be studied in its historical connections, so many particulars of the long process by which the Vedic god Viṣṇu became, for a considerable part of India's population, the Supreme Being have been lost for ever,[399] that we are unfortunately not in a position to give an account of the beginnings of Viṣṇuite guruship and initiation. Yet so much is clear that the Hindu Viṣṇu was the product of a long and complicated process of amalgamation and that the various cults which were to fuse into his religion must have had modest beginnings. Judging from upaniṣads, Buddhist traditions and other sources dating from the last centuries before and the first centuries after the beginning of the Christian era these cults and the doctrines underlying them must have been taught and more or less esoterically explained by many generations of teachers.[400] It is hardly conceivable that at least the transmission of important mantras or the qualification for the successful performance of certain rites did not from the beginning require a sort of initiation.

In the opinion of the Viṣṇuites the main object of initiation is the purification of the individual which should be the condition of his admission to a religious order or community.[401] The finite soul needs purification before it can be God-conscious. It is, according to the Pāñcarātrins, the guru who purifies the disciple, the ceremony comprising the following elements (*saṃskārāḥ*):[402] the individual should bear the symbols of God on his shoulders; he should put a special mark on his forehead; he should receive a devotional name; receive mantras; and procure an image of God: *tāpaḥ puṇḍraṃ tathā nāma mantro yāgaś ca pañcamaḥ / amī hi pañca saṃskārāḥ paramaikāntithetavaḥ* ("the sacraments conditioning (the state of) the highest exclusive devotion").

It has been supposed[403] that the admission of worthy people to the community was a modified form of the old Vedic dīkṣā. As will be seen in the following pages one might rather argue that the relevant ceremonies,

[399] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 236 ff.

[400] According to Rāmānuja "true knowledge of the individual soul and of the Supreme Spirit, applied to the obligations imposed by the various dharmas pertaining to each stage and station of life (*varṇāśrama-*), are to precede pious and humble acts of devotion for, and meditation on, the Supreme Spirit – acts held extremely dear by the devotee – that ultimately result in the attainment of the Supreme Spirit" (Rāmānuja, *Vedārthasaṃgraha*, § 3, translated by J. A. B. van Buitenen, Poona, 1956, p. 184).

[401] For details see further on.

[402] K. D. Bharadwaj, *The philosophy of Rāmānuja* (New Delhi, 1958), p. 188 f.

[403] Bharadwaj, *o.c.*, p. 188.

though amplified by non-Vedic elements, bear in many respects a greater resemblance to the upanayana. Functionally this admission may be related to both dīkṣā and upanayana; historically it may have developed from an institution evolving in milieus which were in need of a more permanent 'dīkṣā' as a complement to, or under certain circumstances even instead of, a previous 'upanayana'.

Chapter 20 of the AhirbudhnyaSaṃhitā – an important text of the Pāñcarātra Viṣṇuites[404] –, describing the dīkṣā, opens with a definition of the ideal teacher who must be well versed in Veda, Vedānta, Pāñcarātra and other systems.[405] The disciple, a twice-born Hindu, unmarried or married, must with perfect sincerity confess to the guru everything he "has done or not done", after which he may be accepted on probation and, after some years, definitively, if he has succeeded in convincing the guru that he is free from greed, infatuation etc. In that case, with the ususal nyāsas[406] etc., the sudarśana mantra is imparted to him. This mantra should on no account be used for a mundane purpose or trifling object, but only for welfare, not for destruction. The same work (ch. 15) considers the investment with the sacred thread the second birth of an individual, the initiation into the Pāñcarātra the third. Here 'Jugendweihe' and dīkṣā are thus regarded as similar, but successive and complementary rites, the latter making a dvija who has completed brahmacarya. Both ceremonies are moreover defined as "a new birth".[407]

The confession of sins and omissions, "matter that man must fight out with his God",[408] like the confession of faith, with which it is closely interconnected, leads a devotee to a decision, and systematizes conduct, yielding the possibility of a new mode of life. As long as the doer of an evil deed keeps it secret, it is like a being that has issued from himself, living a life of its own, and in its turn engendering fatal consequences. If he openly confesses that he is the doer, he takes away the power of the deed to harm.[409] With this the confession of guilt approximates to purification

[404] See e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 119 ff.

[405] F. O. Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* (Madras, 1916), p. 121 f.

[406] *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 36 etc. See also further on.

[407] Attention may be drawn to the fact that later works sometimes contain summaries of one or more of the PāñcarātraSaṃhitās or of other Viṣṇuite works. Thus the present AgniPurāṇa, which is a comparatively late compilation, furnishes us in chapter 32 with a survey of the *dīkṣita-saṃskārāḥ*.

[408] Van der Leeuw, *Religion*, p. 523.

[409] L. Lévy-Brühl, *Primitives and the Supernatural*, p. 356. See also R. Pettazzoni, *La confessione dei peccati* (Bologna, 1929), passim; French edition: *La confession des péchés*, 2 vol. (Paris, 1931-32).

in general. Cf. KātyŚS. 5, 5, 7ff.: "he makes the wife speak (confess): (thereby) he renders her pure ...". As such a confession requires no idea of God whatever and hardly any conception of sin, it may rather be considered a warding off of evil consequences by means of the power of the pronounced word.[410] "For when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth ... and whatever one does not confess, that, indeed will turn out injurious ..." (cf. ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 20).[411] Hence the widespread custom to make an open or even general confession on the one hand, before a campaign, in case of illness, a difficult confinement or other important events, on the other in connection with rites.[412] "Souvent la confession est pratiquée par ceux qui s'apprêtent à faire quelque chose d'extraordinaire ou de nouveau ou de dangereux à quelque égard...., ou à propos d'une cérémonie religieuse quelconque". "Notons surtout que la confession se présente souvent associée à une fête annuelle des prémices ou "de l'année nouvelle", ou bien avec une autre fête periodique de rénovation et d'expulsion des maux".[413] These confessions are often accompanied by eliminatory ritual acts.[414]

It is therefore easily understood that the comparatively rare cases of 'confession' in Vedic religion are hardly avowals of sin in the proper sense of the term (cf. e.g. ṚV. 7, 86, 6; 88, 6; 89, 3). An interesting purification of the above type occurs as an element of the Varuṇapraghāsa rite:[415] the wife of the sacrificer is called upon to admit what lovers she has; if she does not tell the truth, it will go badly for her connections. By confessing "the woman allays the untruth and returns to truth" (MS. 1, 10, 11). The Buddhist confession has already been mentioned.[416]

The relation between the adherents of particular currents of thought, sects and religions on the one hand and the mass of those Hindus who may be called smārtas – i.e. who follow the general traditional religious practices as enjoined by the smṛtis – is not always easy to state. Although it is probable that already before Nāthamuni and Rāmānuja many brahmans like the other classes of society would have adored Viṣṇu as the greatest God, this does not mean that they had completely seceded

[410] Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, p. 442.
[411] Compare the parallel in South America (Andes region) mentioned by H. Trimborn, in W. Krickeberg, H. Trimborn u. a., *Die Religionen des alten Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 156.
[412] Cf. also Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 320.
[413] Pettazzoni, *Confession*, I, p. 131 f.
[414] Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, I, p. 156, cf. II, p. 61.
[415] See e.g. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 116 f.; Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 265; 321.
[416] For the Jains see Schubring, *o.c.*, p. 176.

from the smārta brahmans. In the case of those Viṣṇuites who subscribe to the teachings and practices of the schools inaugurated by the Alvārs, Rāmānuja etc., the so-called Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, it may in short be said that whereas they recognize Viṣṇu as the only supreme deity, the smārta brahmans and their followers recognize also Brahmā, Śiva and other deities as God's manifestations, some of them giving prominence to Śiva. The Viṣṇuites moreover adopted certain customs based on particular beliefs. In most ritualistic observances they do not differ from the other groups of brahmans, following a Vedic school and performing their ceremonies according to one of the Vedic sūtras. In the absence of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava priests those belonging to their groups usually call upon smārta brahmans to assist them in the performance of rites. Every person who desires to obtain mokṣa is expected to seek a 'teacher' (*ācārya-*), who is one of a series of teachers the first of whom is God, the greatest ācārya of the whole world, who gave the Veda and who, to save the world and promulgate truth, manifests himself or becomes incarnate in avatāras and other great figures. Thus the great teachers are considered 'partial incarnations' (*aṃśa-*) of God, to whose presence their great piety and learning is attributed.

Although therefore the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava brahmans do not essentially differ from the smārta brahmans[417] so far as the saṃskāras enjoined by the sūtras are concerned, they are to be initiated into the secrets of the Viṣṇuite religion by a qualified religious teacher who of course is a Vaiṣṇava himself.[418] The first initiation into Viṣṇuism is called the Pañcasaṃskāra ceremony. This solemnity is necessary to be entitled to call oneself a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava. The person wishing to be initiated – who must have passed through the upanayana ceremony – goes to a religious teacher, usually a learned householder, who is well versed in the Śāstras, but sometimes also a saṃnyāsin or a principal of a monastery (*maṭhādhipati-*). After having presented him with fruits, flowers, betel leaves and nuts[419] he requests to be initiated. "Though it has become a formal ceremony, it was in former times a living ceremony and the initiate was capable of understanding its importance. The frame of mind most important for the initiation was there". If the initiator is not satisfied with the candidate, the latter has to wait for a certain time. In accordance with its name, "the five(-fold)

[417] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 217; 332 ff.
[418] D. B. K. Rangachari, "The Sri Vaishnava Brahmans", *Bulletin Madras Gov. Museum, N. S. Gen. Sect.* II (Madras, 1930), p. 34 ff.
[419] "Man bietet ihnen Blumen, usw., damit ihre Lebenskraft gefördert und Schlimmes vertrieben wird" (*Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 334).

sacrament(s)", the ceremony consists of the five distinct sacral acts *tāpa-* (branding), *puṇḍra-* (wearing 'caste marks'), *nāman-* (naming), *mantra-* (repeating of holy formulas) and *yajana-* (worship of God). The branding is usually carried out on the shoulders with Viṣṇu's chief emblems (*cakra-* and *śaṅkha-*[420]). The marks are heated in a fire in which the sudarśana homa[421] has been performed. Some ācāryas do not consider this homa necessary. The puṇḍra is put on in twelve places beginning with the forehead. While making these marks appropriate mantras are pronounced.[422] The new name given to the initiate should be one of the recognized names of Viṣṇu; if he already bears such a name, no new name is given.[423] The importance of this name-giving is also apparent from the words of a Tamil poet (Pāsurams of Periya Ālvār IV): "If a human being is called by a name common to human beings heaven is not attainable. If he is called after Nārāyaṇa (God) his mother will not enter hell". "If a person whose body consists of a mass of dirt and who is born from a similar person is named after a being which is also like the human being in structure, heaven is not attainable; if on the other hand he is named Govinda, ... he will not go to hell". The most important element of this ceremony is the recitation of the mūlamantra and the "double mantra" – which are held to be most sacred and very important by all Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas – in the right ear of the initiate in such a low tone that it can be heard only by himself. The last element, now a formality, is the presenting of an idol for worshipping. On this point also there are resemblances between Vedic and Hindu rites: "he who is consecrated by the rite of consecration comes to have two names; for the very rite of consecration for which he is quickened, and by which he is consecrated, is his second name" (ŚB. 9, 4, 3, 13); that is to say, Sāyaṇa's commentary adds, "he who has, for instance, performed the Vājapeya is henceforth called Vājapeyayājin". In connection with the upanayana GGS. 2, 10, 23f. prescribes that the teacher chooses for the pupil a name to be used at respectful salutations (*abhivādanīya-* name), which is derived from the name of a deity or a nakṣatra.

After the ceremony of branding the initiate very often requests to be initiated in the reading of the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāmānuja's Śrī-Bhāṣya, etc. Generally speaking these works are not read without a previous initiation, a custom similar to the dīkṣās described in the Mānavagṛhyasūtra.

420 See *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 96 f.; 100 f.
421 For *sudarśana-* see *ibidem*, p. 96.
422 For full detail see Rangachari, *o.c.*, p. 56 ff.
423 Among Śrī-Vaiṣṇava men the names of Viṣṇu are used exclusively.

Originally this initiation meant making the candidate fit to catch the real spirit of the work. Nowadays the beginning of the study of these texts has dwindled down into a formal ceremony.

Whereas God is worshipped in private houses by the householder or members of his family, the temple rituals, the establishment of idols etc. require the services or activity of specially trained or initiated men. Among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas these men are the so-called arcakas (i.e. "worshippers");[424] they are also socially a separate class of people, because they do not for instance intermarry with the other Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas.[425] In those temples which have adopted the Vaikhānasa system of worship the duties of an arcaka can never be fulfilled by a married man (*gṛhastha-*) who is not an arcaka. The task of a Pāñcarātra arcaka may on the other hand be temporarily fulfilled by a gṛhastha. Although the Pāñcarātra arcakas following the sūtras of Baudhāyana and Śaunaka may worship God in temples without being initiated, in practice they also undertake the dīkṣā ceremony nowadays which is obligatory for the others. This initiation is called Cakrābja Maṇḍala Dīkṣāi or Dīkṣā. An arcaka pupil is made to go through this elaborate ceremony only after the upanayana. It usually lasts for three days, beginning on the 10th day after New Moon. A sacrificial maṇḍapam (an open hall) is laid out and decorated, and towards the evening the *aṅkurārpaṇam* ceremony[426] is gone through, for which three kinds of mud vessels are required. This mud should be obtained from an ant-hill.[427] The initiate, while repeating the Śākunasūtram,[428] proceeds towards the east or the north in procession accompanied by music until he reaches the place from which the mud is to be taken. Over the place selected for taking the mud he sprinkles water while reciting the *astra-mantram*.[429] The Varāhamūrti (i.e. Viṣṇu in his boar avatāra) is invoked and worshipped.

The mud is dug out with the Varāha-mantra and covered over with a new cloth. In a similar way sand is brought from a river bed or another clear spot. The mud and the sand are carried in procession round the village and then to the maṇḍapam, where the aṅkurārpaṇam is to be

424 Manu, 11, 224 speaks of a *gurudevadvijārcakaḥ*.
425 For particulars see Rangachari, *o.c.*, p. 99 ff.
426 *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 246; 259; 261.
427 An ant-hill, being chthonic, is from the ritual point of view auspicious. For the ritual use of mud in general see Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 318 s.v. Schlamm.
428 Cf. VaikhSmS. 4, 11.
429 The "Arrow-mantra" is (*Oṃ*) *astrāya phaṭ*, or, in a more extended form: *Oṃ sahasrolkāya svāhā vīryāya astrāya phaṭ*; see e.g. NṛsPTU. 2, 2 (P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda*, Leipzig, ³1921, p. 761).

performed. Now the candidate selects the ācārya who is to initiate him and also the sacrificial priests (*ṛtvij-*) who are to assist the ācārya. After the usual worship to God the mud vessels are got ready, arranged in rows etc. They are placed by the candidate who recites the puruṣa-mantra,[430] the Parameṣṭhi[431]-mantra and the Viṣṇu-mantra. Thereupon the candidate proceeds to invoke the devatās, imploring them to occupy the vessels and certain places in the doorways which are believed to represent the four Vedas. Then Soma-the moon is invited to enter into a pot filled with water (so as to penetrate it with its divine essence). The person presiding over the ceremony performs a homa, pouring one hundred and eight oblations of ghee into the fire. Then he recites the *mūla-mantra-* ("the principal formula of the religious community") placing sticks in the fire and offering cooked rice. The Puruṣasūkta[432] is recited and the Soma-mantra repeated one hundred times. Finally, the actual sowing of seeds (*aṅkurārpaṇam*) takes place.

On the second day the very complicated formation of the *cakrābja-maṇḍalam*[433] takes place. Afterwards or simultaneously the *śiṣyādhivāsam* (i.e. "a pupils' sitting or session")[434] is begun. After some introductory rites Nārāyaṇa is invoked and requested to occupy a pot filled with perfumed water. Thereupon he is worshipped. The devatās are requested to occupy the maṇḍalam. Oblations are made. Then the candidate is to bathe and decorate himself with new clothes, a custom known already in Vedic times.[435] He is seated on the right side close to his ācārya with eyes blindfolded facing east. This feature, which was in Viṣṇuite milieus considered to be characteristic of the *paurāṇikī dīkṣā*[436] and, as will be seen further on, recurs in the Buddhist abhiṣeka ceremony, has been compared[437] to the blindfolding of the candidates in the Eleusine mysteries. "The bandage is taken off at the end of the ceremony when, consecration having taken place and inborn stains being therefore erased, the

[430] Puruṣasūkta: ṚV. 10, 90.
[431] An attribute of Brahmā worshipped for overlordship.
[432] ṚV. 10, 90.
[433] That is to say, a figure drawn according to definite rules is ritually made the temporary seat of several divine powers.
[434] This is the main rite to be performed on the second day; see Rangachari, *o.c.*, p. 107 ff.
[435] Cf. BaudhGS. 2, 5, 11; ĀpGS. 4, 10, 10: at the performance of the upanayana the student should put on such a cloth as has been lately woven from the yarn spun recently for this special purpose. The yajamāna undergoing the dīkṣā had also to don a new garment.
[436] S. K. De, *The early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1961), p. 459.
[437] G. Tucci, Tibetan painted scrolls, Roma 1949, p. 247.

candidate is in the state of purity required to understand the mystical meaning of rites and symbols". Attention may however be drawn to an interesting remark which, in connection with the Buddhist abhiṣeka, was recently made by Miss Macdonald[438] who without excluding the intention "de mener le novice à la révélation de son dieu par le chemin secret, qui rappelle le labyrinthe, constitué par les multiples enceintes du maṇḍala", recalls the wrapping up of the head of the *dīkṣita-*[439] who becomes an embryo (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 16). We know moreover that Gobhila (GS. 3, 2, 37) in laying down the rules for the vrata preceding the study of the Mahānāmnī verses states that the initiand should, with veiled eyes (*pariṇaddha-*) and keeping silence, abstain from food for a certain period.

By placing a darbha (a tuft of sacrificial grass) between preceptor and candidate communication is made between them: a sort of counterpart of the upanayana rites effecting an intimate connection between ācārya and brahmacārin. The ācārya pours twelve portions of ghee while reciting Puṇḍarīkākṣa mantras.[440] These oblations are followed by offerings of cooked rice, fuel, flowers and sesame seeds. Then the ācārya goes round the body of the candidate in a sunwise direction performing the *prasūti-mudrā* ("generation mudrā") beginning with the head and passing to the foot, and also back to the head. With a mixture of ashes the ācārya makes a mark of *ūrdhvapuṇḍram*[441] on the forehead of the initiand who has now opened his eyes. He is led to God and is asked to prostrate himself. Meanwhile the ācārya recites a prayer, imploring God to help the initiand. Thereupon the latter is blindfolded and the ācārya ties the māyā thread round his body. This thread must consist of red, black and white coloured threads twisted into one. This act is accompanied by the recitation of the mūlamantra. An elaborate *homam* is performed, God is meditated upon, mantras are repeated, etc. The blindfolding cloth and the māyā thread are removed. The disciple sleeps that night on a bunch of sacrificial grass (*darbha-*). It is worth noting that this grass plays also a part in the upanayana rites.[442] As to the above tri-coloured[443] thread this requisite may hardly be dissociated, on the one hand from the 'brahmanic

[438] A. Macdonald, *Le maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Paris, 1942), p. 135, n.
[439] With his upper garment or with a turban.
[440] Puṇḍarīkākṣa was one of the great masters and teachers of Viṣṇuism.
[441] The so-called sectarian mark.
[442] This grass was considered a means of purification (ŚB. 12, 4, 4, 6), of calming anger (AV. 6, 43); it was because of the protective force attributed to it used as an amulet etc.
[443] For these colours see also Zachariae, in *Zs. des Vereins für Volkskunde* 21 (1911), p. 151 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften*, p. 233 ff.); the same, *ibidem* 12 (1902), p. 113 (= *Kleine Schriften*, p. 243).

thread', and on the other from the *parittasutta-* "a thread worn as a charm to avert evil influences" of the Pāli texts[444] and the *maṅgalyatantu* "the lucky thread", tied, in South-India, by the bridegroom round the neck of the bride.[445] However, cords are in folklore – also in India – not rarely employed to achieve a metamorphosis.[446] This would not be the only example of a popular rite introduced into a systematized ceremonial of a particular school or group and reinterpreted so as to receive a higher symbolic meaning.

On the third day the dīkṣā proper takes place. After a bath, the sandhyā ceremony and offerings to the devatās the pupil prostrates himself to God, is blindfolded again and seated, in the above way, by the side of the ācārya. Offerings are brought, the māyā thread is again wound round the pupil's body, but then its twenty-five rounds are cut into so many pieces, like the other acts to the accompaniment of mantras. Soon after the ācārya must imagine that the initiate is destroyed by fire and that his soul (*jīva-*) is placed at the feet of Vāsudeva who is always present in the heart of the ācārya. To the pupil's body the funerary rites are performed: the well-known motif of the ritual death before initiation.[447] His jīva existing at God's feet in the teacher's heart is now imagined to have passed again into the initiate's body which now has been purified. Here we are reminded of the Vedic belief that the teacher by laying his right hand on the pupil becomes pregnant with him so that the latter is to be born as a brahman (ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 12). Offerings of ghee are made and the tattva-mantras recited in the order of creation. Thereby a new pure body is created. Water is sprinkled over it to the accompaniment of the mūla-mantra. One might recall here that in the upanayana the preceptor and his pupil join their open hands together, the former holding his own above that of the boy; the hands of the teacher are filled with water which is to trickle down on to the hands of the boy (see e.g. JGS. 1, 12). The accompanying mantra is *Oṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ, suvaḥ* and "drive you thoroughly away death". In both cases this sprinkling clearly is a baptism.[448] The cloth covering the

[444] See O. Franke, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, I, p. 200. Cf. also W. Crooke, *Popular religion*, II (London, 1896), p. 47.

[445] M. Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell* (Wien, 1892), p. 53; 61.

[446] Th. Zachariae, "Verwandlung durch Umbinden eines Fadens", *W.Z.K.M.* 19 (1905), p. 240 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften*, Bonn-Leipzig, 1920, p. 228 ff.).

[447] I refer to Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, passim. See also p. 384.

[448] "As for baptism, the Fathers emphasize its initiatory function more and more plastically by multiplying images of death and resurrection. The baptismal font is compared to both the tomb and the womb; it is the tomb in which the catechumen buries his earthly life and the womb in which the life eternal is born" (Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, p. 120).

eyes is removed and the initiate wears a new dress. He then lies down beside the ācārya who touches his body in six places. The Vedic preceptor, it will be remembered, has in a similar way to touch the heart and the navel of his pupil, the accompanying mantras making it clear that henceforth the pupil's will shall follow the will of the guru, and that the former, being free from premature death, shall not become detached from brahman and breath.[449]

Offerings are made and the body of the initiate is from the feet upwards touched with portions of the sacrificial substances. It is worth remembering that the king who is consecrated is also expected to rub in the substance of the anointing mixture with the horn of a black antelope. That the 'holy strength' is actually in the mixture and is thus made to impregnate the system is also clear from ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 16 (describing the Sautrāmaṇī rites): "a rubbing down (of the sacrificer) with all manner of sweet-smelling substances takes place, for such a rubbing down .... means supreme fragrance: with fragrance he thus consecrates (anoints) him (*abhiṣiñcati*)". In place of eating food together the newly married husband may rub his heart and that of his wife with the rest of the sacrificial butter (ĀśvGS. 1, 8, 9), this act being explained as expressing "the idea of community resulting from the sacrifice".[450] At the end of the three days of obligatory continence the remains of the offerings are rubbed into the body of the newly married women (GGS. 2, 5, 6; KhGS. 1, 4, 13; JGS. 1, 22, sūtras of the Sāmaveda).

Thereupon taking hold of the right hand of the pupil the ācārya conducts him sunwise round maṇḍala, kumbha and kuṇḍa (a hole in the ground for receiving the ritual fire). Then a flower, a pearl, a piece of coral and a coin are placed in his hands, which he – again blindfolded – throws on the maṇḍala. He is named after the name of the divine manifestation invoked and placed in that part of the maṇḍala on which the flower falls. As soon as this part of the ceremony is over, God Nārāyaṇa is meditated upon. Mantras are recited into the initiate's right ear.[451] As to the new name, this alteration indicates a complete change, a total renewal of life.[452] Just as at the conclusion of initiation the Tasmanians whisper a secret name to the boys, the Amandebele youths in South Africa cross a river and are given fresh names after circumcision, while on the

[449] For details see R. Gopal, *India of Vedic kalpasūtras* (Delhi, 1959), p. 298.

[450] A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Cambridge Mass., 1925), p. 271.

[451] For the symbolism of the right ear see Meyer, *Trilogie*, I, p. 195 n.

[452] Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, p. 197.

island of Nias boys change their names at marriage and girls at puberty.

After all this the initiate is taken to the presence of God and left in His hands: an act of "self-surrender". Now he is qualified to worship God in temples. The Veda student, it may be observed, is in a similar way consigned or surrendered to a number of divinities: "He now consigns him: 'to Agni I consign thee; to Vāyu ..., to God Savitar ... etc.'" (JGS, 1, 12).

It is interesting to add that among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas the arcakas of the Baudhāyana and Śaunaka schools are of the opinion that they undergo this elaborate dīkṣā instead of *prapatti-*,[453] i.e. the final and complete surrender of man to God as the means of salvation par excellence, which is rightly considered a very important move in the direction of self-perfection.

It is worth noticing that this dīkṣā may in principle be gone through by men of all four classes of society, but nowadays only brahman initiates are found.

As already stated in the beginning of this chapter a brahman officiating at Vedic rites did not need a special consecration. Yet the brahman who longed for *brahmavarcas* ("brahmanic lustre, pre-eminence in sacred knowledge and 'holiness'") or desired to obtain the rank and office of a purohita had to know special 'mystical secrets', to perform definite rites, and especially to execute an "unction" (*abhiṣeka-*), the so-called Bṛhaspati-sava.[454] This rite is by the author of ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 19 even identified with the Vājapeya: "Something great surely has he become now that he has been consecrated" (*mahad vā ayam abhūd yo 'bhyaṣeci*). The other authorities however place the Bṛhaspati-sava on an equality with the Rājasūya.[455] Most of them consider the Vājapeya a preliminary ceremony which in due time is followed by the Rājasūya in the case of a king and by the Bṛhaspatisava in that of a purohita (cf. e.g. ĀśvŚS. 9, 9, 19). The rite (see ĀpŚS. 22, 7, 5ff.) is a sava, i.e. a ceremony lasting one day and including an unction (*abhiṣeka-*).[456] It is characterized by a special gift (and mantra) to Bṛhaspati, the purohita of the gods, and by the cooperation of hotar priests who, so to say, represent the *brahmavarcas* by being bald, reddish brown etc. (see TB. 2, 7, 1, 1f.).

[453] See e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 139 ff.; 142 f.; S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian Philosophy*, III (Cambridge, 1940), p. 90 ff.
[454] See the chapter on Guruship, p. 246.
[455] I refer to Eggeling, *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated*, III (S. B. E. XLI), p. XXIV f.
[456] The rite could also be performed for a sthapati, i.e. for a person who was, by an unction, to be a governor or chief judge. See W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 466 and the same, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III (Amsterdam, 1928), p. 318.

G. DĪKṢĀ IN VIṢṆUISM (PURĀṆAS, KṚṢṆAISM)

The compiler of the VarāhaPurāṇa, which contains a considerable amount of Vaiṣṇava material, devotes two interesting chapters (127-128) to dīkṣā from which the various ramifications of this institution may become somewhat clearer. The Lord Viṣṇu, assuming the outward form of the Boar,[457] reveals to the Earth the secrets of the excellent initiation which, he says, have remained unknown to gods and yogins, but are understood by his devout worshippers (*bhaktāḥ*). This initiation leads to happiness and frees from karma and saṃsāra (127, 9). In accordance with the four classes of men, it is fourfold. As to brahmans, they must, after having found mental peace in the Lord, approach a guru with the stereotype formula *śādhi śiṣyo 'smi māṃ guro* "instruct me, I am (your) pupil, O preceptor". One may compare the Vedic formulas used in the upanayana. The pupil approaching his guru says: *brahmacaryam āgām upa mā nayasva, brahmacārī bhavāni devena savitrā prasūtaḥ* (HGS. 1, 5, 1), and on the guru's invitation to declare himself a student (ŚGS. 2, 2, 8 *brahmacārī bhavān brūhi*) he says: (ibid. 9) *brahmacāry ahaṃ bhoḥ*. When the Vedic guru is about to teach him the Sāvitrī the student has to pronounce the formulas (ĀśvGS. 1, 21, 4; HGS. 1, 6, 10) *adhīhi bhoḥ*; *sāvitrīṃ bho anubrūhi*, or (GGS. 2, 10, 38 etc.) *adhīhi bhoḥ, sāvitrīṃ me bhavān anubravītu*. In comparing the viṣṇuite and the Vedic formulas, which while being essentially identical are differently worded, one should take into account the considerable variations in the prescriptions given by the authors of the gṛhyasūtras with regard to the upanayana ceremony.

The aspirant, the VarāhaPurāṇa continues, must at the guru's command procure the requisites, viz. parched grain, honey, sacred grass (*kuśa-*) and ghee – which are also required in Vedic rites – and, in addition to these, perfume, flowers, incense, a lamp (light), or according to a variant, (also) a wreath, and further, a staff made of palāśa wood, a black deer's skin (see further on), a water-jar (*kamaṇḍalu-*), an ewer (*ghaṭa-*), a garment and shoes, a white sacrificial cord, a handmill (? *yantrikā-*), a small vessel for offering water, a vessel in which the caru oblation (consisting of rice, barley and pulse) is prepared with a ladle (*darvi-*), sesame, rice and barley, and water with fruits. As appears from the notes these requisites are partly known from the Vedic rite, partly typically Hindu utensils. In the Vedic upanayana the requisites are a stone,[458] a new gar-

[457] See e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 251.
[458] Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 52.

ment, a skin, a girdle, a staff and twenty-one pieces of wood.[459] It may be remembered that although there is in the gṛhyasūtras some divergence of opinion about the trees of which the staff was to be made,[460] they are agreed that a brahman should, or may, have one made of palāśa wood (ĀśvGS. 1, 19, 13; 20, 1; ĀpGS. 11, 15 etc.). The palāśa (butea frondosa), indeed, is brahman, the ŚB. holds (5, 2, 4, 18; 5, 3, 5, 11; 6, 6, 3, 7; 12, 7, 2, 15).

As to the black antelope's skin (*kṛṣṇājina-*), the animal itself was associated with spiritual eminence and the skin was throughout the ages a symbol of Vedic culture and holiness;[461] it is identified with the sacrifice (ŚB. 6, 4, 1, 6 etc.) and a sign of initiation (ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 39 "but in no way is this a dīkṣā, for there is neither a girdle, nor a black antelope skin"). One might also remember the passage in ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 3, 9 "one should wear only deerskin if one desires the increase of Vedic lore (*brahmavṛddhi-*)". The kamaṇḍalu which does not belong to the implements prescribed in the gṛhyasūtras, is mentioned also in Manu 2, 64 "he (the Veda-student) must throw his girdle, skin, staff, sacrificial thread and water-pot into water when they have been damaged"; cf. also 4, 36; Yājñ. 1, 133 etc. A ghaṭa is required in the rites of excommunication and re-admission as described by Manu (11, 184; 187). Like the shoes or slippers these implements do not play a rôle in the Vedic rite. Whereas the flowers, lamp, incense etc. are typical of 'Hinduist' rites, the sacrificial cord (*yajñopavīta-*)[462] is mentioned e.g. ŚGS. 2, 2, 3 and GGS. 1, 2, 1 which (in a treatment of the upanayana) saying: "the student takes as yajñopavīta a cord of threads ..." seems to indicate that though a cord of threads was in its days considered the appropriate sacred thread, that was not an invariable rule and that a garment which was more original – TĀ. 2, 1 mentions, no cord or threads but a piece of skin or cloth –, could be employed instead.[463] Remarkably enough, several gṛhyasūtras do not say a word about the sacred thread, while a few (e.g. HGS. 1, 2, 6) say that the boy already wears this object before the homa begins. This does not only point to the existence of different customs within the 'orthodox' Vedic communities, but also facilitates the assumption that then already other practices were observed in 'non-orthodox' circles which were to survive in post-Vedic times or to influence the rites of those on whose

[459] See e.g. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 51 f.
[460] See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, p. 279 f.
[461] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 13 f.; 1026, n. 2308.
[462] See especially Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 284; 287 ff.
[463] W. Caland, *Een Indogermaansch lustratiegebruik* (Amsterdam Academy, 1898); A. S. Altekar, in *Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 20 (1934), p. 135.

behalf the purāṇas were compiled. In connection with the injunction that the yajñopavīta should be white (VarP. 127, 14) a reference may be made to Manu 2, 44, ViSmṛti 27, 19 etc. prescribing that the sacred cord of a brahman should be made of cotton. The *yantrikā* and the *arghapātrī* are not known to me from Vedic texts. The *carusthālī*, "the vessel (made either of clay or udumbara-wood) in which the caru oblation is prepared" occurs in GGS. and KauśS. 89 (piṇḍapitṛyajña) in connection with various rites, but not in the upanayana. The word *darvi-* in the sense of "ladle" is found in the Ṛgveda and later. As to the sesame, rice and barley they are mentioned in the Veda[464] and included among the victuals which in the domestic rites were considered suitable sacrificial material. A survey of these articles may shed some light on the gradual transition from, or transformation of, a Vedic initiatory rite to the type described in the VarāhaPurāṇa.

The collection of edibles and other objects suitable for religious rites of which the initiates devoted to Viṣṇu's cult will make use must, VarP. 127, 15ff. continues, be placed at the guru's feet. After having bathed and adorned himself with auspicious objects (*maṅgala-*) the brahman who wishes to be initiated should seize the guru's feet and tender him his services (the formula *brūhi kiṃ karavāṇi te* occurs e.g. Mbh. 3, 53, 1 cr. ed.). The guru then permits him to construct an excellent square vedi (sacrificial bed) of definite dimensions on which he should, in accordance with the ritual rules, place, on (a layer consisting of) grain, a strong new pitcher, which should, to the accompaniment of mantras, be filled with water and adorned with flowers and shoots. Thereupon the guru,[465] after placing a vessel filled with sesame on the pitcher, should worship (*pūjayet*) Viṣṇu using the utensils which were made ready by his pupil. After this ceremony the guru should place a number of requisites on the vedi, putting four clean pitchers, which are filled with water and adorned with mango blossoms, on the four sides. He should wind a white thread round them.

Although this long series of solemn acts is essentially 'Hinduist', there are Vedic elements – or, elements which are also Vedic – in it. A boy must before being introduced to his teacher be bathed and adorned (e.g. GGS. 2, 10, 7); the adult person who is to undergo the dīkṣā is also purified with water. According to ĀśvGS. 1, 20 the boy who undergoes the Vedic upanayana takes hold of his teacher's hand, while the latter offers a homa of oblations of clarified butter in the fire; for a ritual fire is kept

[464] Cf. e.g. H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* (Berlin, 1879), p. 238 ff.
[465] 127, 20 read *gurur* instead of *guruṃ*.

burning for three days (ĀpGS. 11, 20) or as long as the ceremony lasts (ĀpGS. 11, 20; 21; 26 etc.). Having – after some other ritual acts – put a fuel stick on the fire and having touched the fire, the student worships Agni with the formulas "may Agni (Indra, the sun) bestow on me insight, offspring and lustre ..." he bends his knees, embraces the teacher's feet and asks him to recite the Sāvitrī. Whereas however the Vedic upanayana ceremony takes place in the presence of the god Agni manifesting himself in the fire, the Hindu rite is performed before the vedi and the pitcher, and includes adoration accorded to Viṣṇu. – As is well known, transmission of power or of a special charisma, though usually effected through the medium of the hand, may also take place through other parts of the body, e.g. the foot.[466] Touching the feet is, moreover, an act of salutation, veneration and submission. In the gṛhyasūtras the ceremony of *upasaṃgraha-* consists of repeating one's family name and name, saying "I salute", clasping the feet and bending one's head while so doing. According to ĀpDhS. 1, 2, 5, 19 and 1, 3, 10, 17; Manu 2, 71 the student must clasp his teacher's feet before beginning and after finishing the day's lesson of Vedic study.

The use of pitchers filled with water for ritual purposes is not foreign to the Veda. According to PGS. 2, 6, 9ff. the student who is to be absolved by his teacher has to stand on eastward-pointed kuśa blades to the east of eight pitchers filled with water and placed to the north of the fire in an enclosure. He has to take water from these pitchers one by one and to besprinkle himself ("for the sake of prosperity, glory, holiness, holy lustre").[467] In the *paurāṇikī dīkṣā* mentioned in the Haribhaktivilāsa[468] there is a ninth pitcher dedicated to Viṣṇu, and the water used for sprinkling is preferably taken from this one: the well-known central and additional unit.[469]

It will be remembered that in the Veda the term *dīkṣā-* could be applied to consecrations undertaken for various purposes. That this possibility was not lost in later times may be illustrated by a quotation from the VarāhaPurāṇa.[470] During the ceremonies nine pitchers are placed on a

[466] Although it would be rash to assume that behind all customs from different ages and different peoples lay precisely the same intentions, it may be worth while to recall the belief that the foot of men, like the hoof of animals, contained life-fluid or the life-soul. Hands and feet were, not only for the Greeks, Romans and Hebrews, but also for Indians associated with generation. For particulars see R. B. Onians, *The origins of European thought* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 198; 246; 519; 524 ff.; 540, n. 1.

[467] We will have to return to this point.

[468] See De, *The early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal*, p. 459.

[469] See 124 f.

[470] Also quoted in the Haribhaktivilāsa, 2, 127-155.

maṇḍala, one – into which Śrī-Kṛṣṇa is believed to enter – in the centre and eight to the north, north-east, east, etc. of it. These pitchers are filled with holy water. If the aspirant is desirous of salvation and final emancipation he makes, in taking the initiatory 'bath', use of the water of the central pitcher, if he wishes to obtain prosperity, victory, a long life, knowledge, wealth etc. he utilizes one of the other pitchers which are occupied by other divinities. If he aims at the destruction of his enemies he takes the water of the south-western pitcher: this region is from of old the residence of the goddess of destruction, Nirṛti. In case he would destroy his sins he has to utilize the water of the north-western pitcher. While the old rite and its time-honoured significance are retained, the ceremony is extended and given an additional deeper sense in agreement with the theistic environment.

In the following verses, which are, in places, corrupt, the VarPur. informs us that the "promoter of the initiation" (*dīkṣāprayojaka-*, st. 24) must give a mantra by which the guru is pleased. Having approached the house of Viṣṇu who hopes for initiations, the guru being firmly resolved upon ritual work,[471] having sipped water and the face turned towards the east – like the Vedic teacher in receiving a pupil (ŚGS. 2, 1, 28 etc.) – instructs all his pupils with a view to consecration (*dīkṣaṇa-*). The Bhāgavata who does not politely rise from his seat for other Bhāgavatas offends the guru (and God). The man who after having given his daughter in marriage has not performed the wedding rites offends his ancestors. Other sinners are the man who injures his wife, and the murderer of a brahman or a cow, etc. These pupils should be dismissed. It may be remembered that according to the Dharmaśāstras (see e.g. Manu 2, 117; 120) a student should reverentially salute his teacher, his elders and venerable men (4, 154). The gṛhyasūtras in describing the conduct for a student lay down very detailed rules about the rising from one's seat to receive a person, saluting, bowing etc. Other persons to be saluted were[472] the parents, their blood relations, an elder brother, or also (Manu 2, 130 etc.) an officiating priest, uncles, one's father-in-law. The difference between these categories of venerable persons and the co-religionists meant in VarP. is as obvious as it is significant.

The warning is added (VarP. 127, 31) that the bilva and udumbara and other trees which are suitable for religious rites are not to be cut down, because the adept who strives after highest perfection and final emancipation should know what to eat and what to avoid. The bilva or wood-

[471] I read *gurur karmaviniścitaḥ* (st. 25).

[472] For details see Kane, *o.c.* II, p. 335 ff.

apple tree (see e.g. ŚB. 13, 4, 4, 8) of which in some cases the sacrificial post was made (TS. 2, 1, 8, 1 f.), was used for *res faustae* (i.e. it was *śānta-*, KauśS. 8, 15). So was the udumbara, the wood of which was constantly used for ritual purposes (in the Vedic ritual, the sacrificial post and ladle, amulets etc.); being the dwelling and a manifestation of Yama it was 'Totenseelensitz' and 'Zeugungsbaum';[473] it was especially valued, being homologized, in the Veda, with food and life-sap in general. The destruction of bamboo-shoots and (the consumption of) the fruits of the udumbara are on the other hand approved of (VarP. 127, 33). Foul-smelling food should not be eaten; for obvious reasons brahmans and initiated persons should not moreover touch the flesh of the boar and fish. Other misbehaviour is, in this connection: censure, doing harm, backbiting, theft, inhospitality, adultery, even mentally, with the wives of a guru, the king and a brahman; besides, one should not become attached to gold or young amorous women, and an unfortunate man should not resent the good luck of a fellow-man. Among the numerous rules laid down in the smṛtis and digests about the qualifications of a Veda student and about the students who after completing their studies become householders are also such injunctions as speaking the truth, avoiding contact with young women, refraining from injury etc.[474]

Thereupon he should bring near an umbrella and a shoe, place, in pairs, leaves of an udumbara[475] on the vedi, and also a razor and a vessel filled with water, and whilst inviting Viṣṇu (to come down) pronounce another mantra in which the seven continents, the seven oceans, the heavens etc. are said to be in the heart of God who is revered and invited to approach and to enable by his favour the initiator to carry out the initiation (*dīkṣākāmavipras tvatprasādāt tu dīkṣati*). Thereupon Viṣṇu is requested to accept the usual presentations offered to a guest (*arghyaṃ pādyaṃ ca dātavyam*), the accompanying mantra being corrupt. Then the guru takes the razor pronouncing the words: *evaṃ varuṇaḥ pātu śiṣya te vapataḥ śiraḥ* (for Varuṇa – who not rarely is conceived as doing harm – as a protector see e.g. ṚV. 2, 28, 3; 8, 42, 2), which is followed by the statement: *jalena viṣṇuyuktena dīkṣā saṃsāramokṣaṇam* "the initiation by means of the water containing Viṣṇu liberates from the saṃsāra". Now the head of the aspirant is shaven without making it bleed. He bathes. The guru kneels on the ground and pronounces the mantra: *vedāmy ahaṃ bhāgavatāṃś ca sarvān / sudīkṣitā ye guravaś ca sarve / viṣṇuprasādena ca*

[473] I refer to Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 332.
[474] See Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 330 ff.; 411 ff.
[475] Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 205 ff.

labdhadīkṣā (sic) / *mama prasīdantu namāmi sarvān.* He bows to God's devotees, lights a fire with ghee mixed with honey, parched grain and black sesame.[476] It may be remembered that honey mixed with sour curds and ghee are sprinkled on the completed fire-place: ŚB. 9, 2, 1, 1 ff. After having presented twenty-seven times a sesame dish (*tilodana-*) he kneels and prays: *aśvinau diśaḥ somasūryau sākṣimātraṃ / vayaṃ* (?) *prasannāḥ śṛṇvantu me satyavākyaṃ vadāmi.* Rice boiled with sesame (*tilodana-*) and prepared with ghee was, for special ritual purposes, also known in Vedic times: BĀU. 6, 4, 17 a man who desires to have a learned daughter who will attain a full length of life should eat such a dish. The KauśS. (138, 1 f.) prescribes for the performance of the Aṣṭakā – a winter festival in honour of the Fathers[477] – the oblations of fried grains, a sacrificial cake, and also boiled rice with sesame (*tilodana-*) etc.

The following words *satyena dhāryate bhūmiḥ satyena tiṣṭhati bhūmiḥ / satyena gacchate sūryo vāyuḥ satyena vāti ca* "the earth is borne by truth, the earth stands by truth, the sun moves through truth and the wind blows by truth" are, in a and b, a double variant of ṚV. 10, 85, 1a; AV. 14, 1, 1a; ĀpMB. 1, 6, 1a *satyenottabhitā bhūmiḥ* "the earth is established by truth". KauśS. 75, 6 directs AV. 14, 1, 1 to be used in preparing the sacrificial fire, at the beginning of the marriage rites; in ĀpGS. 2, 5, 19 it is a *rathasyottambhanī*; in c d of TĀ. 10, 63, 1 (*satyena vāyur āvāti satyenādityo rocate*; the passage deals with Aruṇi asking his father Prajāpati what is the Highest); MahānU. 519 (22, 1) (*satyena vāyur āvāti satyenādityo rocate divi* "the wind blows by truth, the sun shines in the sky by truth"). It is interesting to notice that this reference to *satya-* "holding to or abiding by reality and truth" is not devoid of a deeper meaning.[478] "Es ist letzten Endes die Macht der Tatsachen, der Realität, die vom Worte befestigt, neubelebt und rege gemacht, die erstrebte Wirkung (meist augenblickliche Wirkung in der äusseren Welt) hervorbringt. Nur derjenige, der den bestimmten Sachverhalt richtig erfasst hat, kann diese Macht aktiv machen ... Mit Vorliebe werden eigene gute Taten oder Tugenden ... beteuert, daneben begegnen aber auch Beteuerungen allgemeinen Inhalts, die auf die Verhältnisse des Sprechens oder des betreffenden Falles keinen Bezug haben".[479] The author of MahānU. continues: *satyaṃ vācaḥ pratiṣṭhā satye sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam, tasmāt satyaṃ paramaṃ vadanti.*

[476] For sesame in lamps etc. see Meyer, *o.c.*, II, p. 62 f. etc.
[477] See e.g. R. Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras* (Delhi, 1959), p. 414 ff.
[478] See E. W. Burlingame, in *J.R.A.S.* 1917, p. 429 ff.; H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1959), p. 486 ff.
[479] Gonda, in *Oriens* 13-14, p. 409 f.

After "this statement of truth" (*evaṃ satyaṃ tataḥ kṛtvā*) the brahman (who is to be initiated), after having made three sunwise circumambulations round him[480] and having grasped his feet, must propitiate the guru and honour him in the ritual way with a mantra: "the dīkṣā has spontaneously been obtained by the grace of the divine guru, and the guru must forgive me every wrong I have done". As already observed, clasping the teacher's feet (and bending one's head while so doing) was also a customary practice in the Vedic upanayana ceremonies.[481] Thereupon the guru seizing the water-jar pronounces over the initiate who, facing the east, has taken his stand on the vedi[482] and wears the yajñopavīta: "by Viṣṇu's grace you have reached perfection, the dīkṣā has been performed with the water-jar etc." (*viṣṇuprasādena gato 'si siddhiṃ / prāptā ca dīkṣā sakamaṇḍaluś ca / gṛhītvā tu karābhyāṃ yukto 'si karmaṇā kriyāyāṃ caiva*). The initiated brahman then makes a *mukhaṃ padam*, performs, together with the guru, a ceremonious circumambulation and recites the mantra *adho 'dho bhūtvā yady aham bhrāmyaṃl labdho gurur viṣṇudīkṣā ca labdhā / tava prasādāc ca guro yathā ca.* He then takes a new garment and the water-jar, called a general means of ritual purification, the accompanying mantra being *gṛhṇīṣva gandhapātrāṇi sarvagandhaṃ sukhocitam / sarvavaiṣṇavakaṃ śuddhaṃ sarvasaṃsāramokṣaṇam*, from which it appears that this act is expected to lead to definitive deliverance of the saṃsāra. Then the initiated brahman is offered a madhuparka, i.e. the mixture of honey which in Vedic ritual is respectfully offered to a guest or to a bridegroom on his arrival at the house of the bride.[483] It is worth noticing that this ancient food is in Hindu rites also offered to the ācārya who has been chosen in order to consecrate a temple or an image of a god.[484] The accompanying mantra is *gṛhāṇa madhuparkaṃ ca prārthakāya viśodhanam*, the word *prārthaka-* properly meaning "wooer". After revering the guru, by clasping his feet, saluting him with the añjali etc. the novice should speak the mantra: *śṛṇvantu me bhāgavatās tu sarve / guruś ca me sarvakāmakṣayaṃ cakāra / ahaṃ śiṣyo dāsabhūtas tathaiva / devasamo guruś ca me tathopapannam*, in which the high value attached to the initiatory power of the godlike guru and the pupil's servitude to him are clearly expressed. The performance of this dīkṣā ceremony secures perfection to both preceptor and pupil.

480 *tisraḥ pradakṣiṇāḥ kṛtvā*, see Caland, *Lustratiegebruik* (see above).
481 For the respect due to the Vedic guru see e.g. Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 330 ff.
482 *vedīmadhye sthāpayitvā* (sic) *bhūtvā pūrvamukhas tataḥ*.
483 For particulars see V. M. Apte, *Social and religious life in the gṛhyasūtras* (Bombay, ²1954), p. 83.
484 See e.g. R. V. Joshi, *Le rituel de la dévotion kṛṣṇaite* (Pondichéry, 1959), p. 75; 89 f.

This last division of the initiatory rites may, to a certain extent, be compared to the *samāvartana-*, the final rites of the Vedic 'Jugendweihe'. The samāvartana, the return home of a brahman student after completing his studies in the house of a preceptor, signified that the former is released from his duties and considered 'finished' by the latter. A student who fully satisfied his teacher with his attainment in Vedic studies and who was duly permitted by the teacher could take a bath, after which he was called a *snātaka-* (see e.g. PārGS. 2, 6, 1 ff.). This bath after mastering the meaning of the Veda indicates the end of the Veda study (MGS. 1, 2, 8; KGS. 3, 1).[485] The description of the rites is not the same in all the gṛhyasūtras.[486] Some points are not without interest: according to GGS. 3, 4, 8 ff. the student is besprinkled by the teacher with lukewarm water which is mixed with perfumes and which has been boiled together with herbs of all kinds. Then the student besprinkles himself. Both acts are accompanied by mantras. The student has, moreover, to entertain brahmans with food (cf. also ĀśvGS. 22, 18) and to eat himself. He should put on two new garments, a garland and shoes. The guru then honours him with the argha ceremony (GGS. 3, 4, 30). that is, he offers him the above madhuparka. This *argha-* is also mentioned by other authorities (see e.g. ŚGS. 3, 1, 14). According to PārGS. 2, 6, 9 ff. the student, having touched the feet of his guru, puts wood on the fire and stands on kuśa blades to the east of eight pitchers of water with which he has to besprinkle himself.[487] Some of the mantras accompanying these rites are likewise worth quoting. The purificatory significance of the bath is emphasized e.g. in MGS. 1, 2, 11. The new garments, which are stated to be excellent, are put on for the sake of splendour, brilliance and divine lustre (MGS. 1, 2, 12; cf. GGS, 3, 4, 25). The snātaka anoints his eyes lest his heat should perish (MGS. 1, 2, 13). As to the ceremonious circumambulation, this is mentioned by some authorities in connection with the performance of the *medhājanana-* (i.e. the rite for production of intelligence). BhGS. 1, 10 describes it as follows: having wiped and sprinkled with water from left to right a palāśa tree ... the student anointing that tree with clarified butter, recites the mantra: "O glorious one, make me glorious ...; as you are the protector of the treasure of the Vedas for the gods, so may I be the protector of the treasure of the Vedas for the brahmans". For all similarity in details the theistic, viṣṇuite character and the ultimate objective of the ceremony described in the VarPur. are obvious; owing

485 For complications and different opinions see e.g. Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, p. 61.
486 Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 311 ff.
487 The rites are in fact much more complicated.

to the important change in religious life and ideals, it is largely different from the Vedic ceremonies.

The next chapter deals with the dīkṣā in case the aspirant is not a brahman. The kṣatriya who wishes to undertake the ceremony should give up all his weapons. The utensils required are the same, but instead of the black antelope's skin and a staff of palāśa wood the skin of a black he-goat and a staff of the aśvattha should be used. The gṛhya- and dharmasūtras lay down that for a kṣatriya student of the Veda the staff should be of the branch of the nyagrodha or of the aśvattha (thus KGS. 41, 22; GautDhS. 1, 22). The aśvattha (ficus religiosa) belongs to the kṣatriya.[488] It may be remembered that during the consecration rites which form part of the vājapeya, by performing which a king becomes universal ruler (*samrāj-*), the adhvaryu spreads out the skin of a he-goat upon which the sacrificer has to step (ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 21; ĀpŚS. 18, 6, 1). In the chapters dealing with the upanayana the skin of a ruru deer is not rarely[489] prescribed to kṣatriyas, a goat skin to vaiśyas. There are however differences of opinion.

After the vedi has been made and God's feet have been revered a mantra is recited: *tyaktāni viṣṇo śastrāṇi tyaktaṃ sarvaṃ kṣatriyakarma sarvaṃ tyaktvā devaṃ viṣṇuṃ prapanno 'tha saṃsārād vai janmanāntārayasva* (read: *janmāntarāt tārayasva* ?). Seizing God's feet the aspirant says: *nāhaṃ śastraṃ devadeva spṛśāmi / parāpavādaṃ na ca deva bravīmi / karma karomi saṃsāramokṣaṇaṃ / tvayā coktam* ..., from which it appears that the renunciation of the military manner of life and the performance of religious works which lead to final emancipation are essential features of this dīkṣā (cf. also 128, 11 *eṣā vai kṣatriyā dīkṣā devi saṃsāramokṣaṇam / matprasādena kartavyaṃ yadīcchet siddhim uttamām*). The rites include burning of incense and the entertainment of all pure members of the Bhāgavata community.

A vaiśya should likewise renounce his customary way of life and devote himself to God's ritual work. The skin is again a goat's and the staff made of udumbara wood. According to Āpastamba (ĀpGS. 11, 15f.; ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 2, 38) the staff of a vaiśya should be of badara or udumbara wood. PārGS. 2, 5 recommends the latter. In other texts there is some divergence of opinion.[490] The mantra is: *ahaṃ vaiśyo bhavantam upāgataḥ / pramucya karmāṇi ca vaiśyayogam / dīkṣā ca labdhā bhagavat-*

488 Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 63.
489 See Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 278.
490 For details see Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 279 f.

prasādāt / prasīdatāṃ me bhavabandhamokṣaṇam. The vaiśya has to seize the guru's feet, to feed God's devotees etc.

A śūdra who undergoes the Viṣṇudīkṣā is freed from all sins. The requisites are similar; the skin of a black he-goat, a bamboo staff[491] and a black garment are prescribed. As is well known black is the colour of the śūdra (see e.g. AVPar. 53, 4, 3). The bamboo staff is in connection with the snātaka mentioned in the ĀśvGS. (3, 9, 20). The mantras are: *śūdro 'haṃ śūdrakarmāṇi muktvā bhakṣyaṃ ca sarvaśaḥ / bhakṣyābhakṣyaṃ tatas tyaktvā tyaktvā ca śūdrakarma ca* and: *viṣṇuprasāde guhyaṃ prasannāt pūrvavac ca labdhā* (read: *labdhvā*) *caiva saṃsāramokṣaṇāya karomi karma prasīda.*

The śūdra who is not allowed to study the Veda and not fit for Vedic sacrifices has in contradistinction to the twice-born classes only one birth (Manu 10, 4), that is to say, he is not allowed to be initiated. He may however acquire knowledge by listening to purāṇas read by a brahman. Śaṃkara quoting (on VedāntaS. 1, 3, 38) Mbh. 12, 314, 45 cr. ed. (*sarvas taratu durgāṇi sarvo bhadrāṇi paśyatu / śrāvayec caturo varṇān kṛtvā brāhmaṇaṃ agrataḥ*) says that the śūdra may attain spiritual development and even reach mokṣa without study of the Veda. "Gaining knowledge through Vedic study is forbidden but gaining knowledge through other means is encouraged".[492] In some digests a smṛti is quoted stating that śūdras are Vājasaneyins, which means that a brāhmaṇa should repeat the mantra for a śūdra who follows the procedure prescribed by the Vājasaneyins. These belong to the White Yayur Veda, but the above opinion may be based on Hariv., Bhp. 3, 13 "all will expound brahma, all will be Vājasaneyins".[493] From these quotations it becomes clear that there have on the one hand been gradual transitions from the exclusive Vedic traditions to the admission of the śūdra to the dīkṣā ceremonies described in the Varāhapurāṇa. There has indeed at least been one ancient teacher (Bādari)[494] who advocated that even a śūdra could perform Vedic rites. According to BhārŚS. 5, 2, 8 "some" authorities were of the opinion that he could consecrate the sacred fires.[495] Whereas he was entitled to perform the five daily sacrifices called mahāyajñas and perform the śrāddha, the rites performed for him should be without Vedic mantras (Manu 10, 127). While the members of the higher classes pronounced the formula

491 See R. Sh. Sharma, *Śūdras in ancient India* (Delhi, 1958), p. 128.
492 S. Radhakrishnan, *The Brahma Sūtra* (London, 1960), p. 308.
493 See Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 156.
494 See Jaiminī 1,3,27 and Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 156 f.
495 For similar statements and differences of opinion see also Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 127.

agnaye svāhā he should only think of Agni and, if permission was given to him, he might use the ritual exclamation *namaḥ* "adoration" (cf. GautS. 10, 64 *anujñāto 'sya namaskāro mantraḥ*). He could however pronounce the mantra *namaḥ śivāya*, the so-called śivamantra of five akṣaras – while *dvijātis* were authorized to repeat the mantra of six akṣaras *oṃ namaḥ śivāya* –, notwithstanding the occurrence in the Veda (VS. 16, 41; TS. 4, 5, 8, 1 etc.) of the sequence *namaḥ śivāya ca śivatarāya ca*, where however *śiva-* is not to be taken as the proper name of the god. In a similar way all persons including the śūdras could repeat the Rāmamantra. "Vide Śūdrakamalākara, p. 30f., where passages of Varāha, Vāmana and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas are cited to show that śūdras are entitled to learn and repeat mantras of Viṣṇu from the Pāñcarātra texts and of Śiva, the Sun, Śakti and Vināyaka".[496] Here also a closer investigation of the relevant facts reveals the gradual transformation of Vedism into Hinduism, and the penetration into authoritative texts of cults, rites and beliefs which were not recognized as valid by all, or most, Vedic authorities.

It is on the other hand hardly probable that those components of the ancient Indian population which were collectively denoted by the term śūdra did not possess some sort of 'initiation' or 'consecration' rites of their own. This is not to subscribe to the view pronounced on the strength of preconceived theories rather than historical facts by my late lamented compatriot Held[497] and endorsed by the author of a recent book:[498] "There has been a time, when the śūdra could also be initiated. This must have been the time when initiation was still the sacrament to which every grown-up man was entitled and not a distinction of caste".[499] Or, "in the beginning the upanayana was the affair of the whole tribe; but as the tribe disintegrated into classes, it became a prerogative, a honorific distinction to be attained by means of wealth and high social position". This is not the place to elaborate on the origin of the fourth estate in ancient India and on its relations to the three Aryan classes.[500] So much is clear that the śūdras lived on the fringes of Aryan society and that they included subdued, non-Aryan as well as repudiated Aryan elements; further that there were "pure" or "correct" and "impure" or "excluded" śūdras, a distinction made on the basis of their customs and profession. In my opinion the most satisfactory view of the problem under discussion

[496] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 158.
[497] G. J. Held, *The Mahābhārata, an ethnological study*, Thesis (Leiden, 1935), p. 241 f.
[498] R. Sh. Sharma, *o.c.*, p. 69 f.
[499] Replace "caste" by "class, rank, order".
[500] See e.g. E. Senart, *Les castes dans l'Inde* (Paris, 1896), passim; J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (Cambridge, 1946), p. 57 ff.

and of the apparent contradictions in our texts[501] would for the time being be the following. The śūdras of non-Aryan descent had rites including 'initiations' or 'consecrations' of their own which in the course of time might[502] be 'sanskritized', legalized and subjected to a process of adaptation by the leading classes. Those of Aryan descent were, as the rigidity of brahmanic ceremonies and observances increased, refused participation in the 'orthodox' rites (cf. HŚS. 19, 1, 4; 26, 1, 6; 20); or they may have incurred the displeasure of the brahmans by clinging to practices which the latter did not consider respectable. It may be supposed that part of these 'non-orthodox' practices of either origin came to the surface in the above 'Hinduist', i.e. non- and post-Vedic rites.

It is nothing new to us that the description of the dīkṣā proper given by the author of the VarāhaPurāṇa should be followed by prescriptions regarding the duties of those initiated: 128, 37 etc.

Nor is it surprising that the parallelism and the close association between certain forms of dīkṣā and the 'sacramental rites' called saṃskāras – the number of which was not fixed[503] – is also explicitly stated in the texts. Thus AgniPur. a. 32, 1 *nirvāṇādiṣu dīkṣāsu catvāriṃśat tathāṣṭa ca / saṃskārān kārayed dhīmān / ...* 11f. ... *sauraśakteyaviṣṇvīśadīkṣās tv ete samāḥ smṛtāḥ / / saṃskāraiḥ saṃskṛtaiś caitair bhuktimuktim avāpnuyāt ...*

In a detailed description of an initiation, called *mantrasaṃgrahaṇa-*, the LiṅgaPurāṇa 85, 83ff. likewise teaches that religious exertion without the transmission of the mantra is senseless: 84 *ājñāhīnaṃ* (: *gurvājñārahitam*, comm.), *kriyāhīnaṃ* (: *ācāravarjitam*), *śraddhāhīnam* (: *bhaktirahitam*) *amānasam / ājñaptaṃ dakṣiṇāhīnaṃ sadā japtaṃ ca niṣphalam*. The initiated should, here also, approach a worthy guru and 87 *toṣayet tam prayatnena bhāvaśuddhisamanvitaḥ* ... (88) *ācāryaṃ pūjayec chiṣyaḥ* ..., whilst offering him many valuable gifts (90 *vṛttaśāṭhyaṃ na kurvīta yadīcchet siddhim ātmanaḥ*); lastly, he must offer himself together with his personal property. Moreover, the candidate must be obedient to the guru, be morally pure, fast and bathe in a river, at a beach, in a sanctuary, a clean house, etc. Thereupon the guru should in a lonely place communicate the *Śivajñānam* to him (95), and warrant him success. The initiate should henceforth mutter the mantra continually. If he, fasting and concentrated, does so he will attain to the highest goal.

[501] Cf. e.g. ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 9 where the śūdra is given a place in the Soma sacrifice and ibid. 3, 1, 1, 10 where he is not worthy of being addressed by a consecrated person; in a similar way, the initiated student (*upanīta-*) should not talk to a śūdra (DrāhŚS. 7, 3, 14).
[502] Along the lines indicated in my book *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 11 etc.
[503] See e.g. Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 193 ff.

Among those particulars which in the opinion of the compiler of the Haribhaktivilāsa are characteristic of a *paurāṇikī dīkṣā* is also the determination of the good and bad effects of the mantras by the nature of the dreams dreamt by the aspirant. This feature also is no doubt of greater antiquity than the "paurāṇic age". In a passage dealing with the "mixed potion incantation" for the attainment of greatness the author of ChU. 5, 2, 8f. hands down a verse: "If during rites done for a wish one sees a woman in his dream, one may recognize success in this appearance". Śaṃkara observes that if the person concerned lies down behind the fire and if, in a dream, he sees a woman, this is a sign that his effort has succeeded. Describing the ritual called Bṛhallakṣahoma – the offering of 100000 oblations with the Sāvitrī – AVPar. 30 b, 2, 8 makes also mention of a prognostication from dreams. Another point mentioned concerns fasting and visiting a temple, after taking a bath. As is well known fasting, like sleeping on the ground etc., is in a considerable number of cases, *inter alia* in the dīkṣā an ancillary rite prescribed by the Vedic authorities to the intending sacrificer. During the study of the Veda both teacher and pupil should, for a different course of time, it is true, abstain from meat-eating (cf. ŚGS. 2, 12, 8). The visit to the temple is of course, like the performance of some typically 'Hinduist' rites, a non-Vedic feature. It may however be noticed that this *paurāṇikī dīkṣā* is not free from tantrist influences.

In Kṛṣṇaite circles founding their cults and their beliefs on such important and fundamental texts as the BhāgavataPurāṇa (± 900 A.D.) and the basic works of the Caitanya (1485-1533) movement initiation is a necessity. "L'initiation joue un rôle préliminaire et nécessaire dans le rituel. ... Avant l'initiation nul n'est autorisé à pénétrer dans le sentier de la dévotion à aucune divinité, ou à suivre l'accomplissement proprement dit des rites selon les différentes écritures sacrées".[504] According to the BhāgP. those who are desirous of mokṣa must put themselves under the care and guidance of a preceptor who knows the Vedas well and is a worshipper of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa who is the highest brahman (11, 3, 21: *tasmād guruṃ prapadyeta jijñāsuḥ śreya uttamam / śabde pare ca niṣṇātaṃ brahmaṇy upaśramāśrayam*). This guru must be a man in whom all passions have quieted down and who identifies himself with Śrī-Kṛṣṇa (11, 10, 5). The Kramadīpikā adds that such a guru must be revered by the ṛṣis themselves (4, 2). Moreover, "le vrai maître devra descendre d'une famille sans tache et pleine de vertus. Il devra être à même d'accomplir

guru

[504] Joshi, *o.c.*, p. 8.

tous les rites sacres préscrits, familiarisé avec toutes les écritures y compris la tradition védique, rempli de foi religieuse, maître de maison, etc. etc.". The texts which are unanimous in emphasizing the many virtues required in the initiator forbid him to strive after earnings or profit. If in a certain milieu there is no brahman who could act as a guru, a competent kṣatriya may impart the initiation, but only to kṣatriyas, vaiśyas or śūdras. Even a vaiśya or a śūdra may under similar circumstances initiate their social equals or inferiors, although there is difference of opinion about the competence of a śūdra (and a woman). The disciple must likewise conform to special requirements. There are different opinions about the suitable moments for the initiations.

What interests us more is the existence of no less than four procedures. The first, called *kriyāvatī*, i.e. the dīkṣā characterized by the performance of pāñcarātra rites, requires the purification of the adept, and other preliminary rites, the elaborate construction of a kuṇḍa for the sacrificial fire into which the oblations are to be poured out, a maṇḍapa or temporary hall or pavilion and a vedi or sacrificial bed.[505] It is worth observing that purification is also an important element in the Vedic initiatory rites. The second procedure begins by imposing akṣaras ('mystic' syllables, *nyāsa-*) by the guru: in so doing the guru identifies all the 'elements' of the disciple with the consciousness of the highest brahman; the disciple is united with spiritual qualities and freed from sinful influences. Ritual acts for similar purposes are not foreign to the Veda: the so-called medhājanana,[506] inserted in some of the gṛhyasūtras in the description of the upanayana ceremony, is to produce glory and intelligence in the initiate. The third method, called *kalāvatī*, consists in purifying the disciple's body and in replacing his 'profane' knowledge by the pure and noble knowledge of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. Compare, in the upanayana: "We clothe, O soma, this (boy) with brahman for the sake of great learning" (JGS. 1, 12). The fourth, and most difficult, initiation is the *vedhamayī* ("penetrating"), consisting in a revelation imparted by the guru to the disciple who is to learn how to penetrate into the six circles assumed by the Yoga doctrine to exist in the human body.

If a kuṇḍa is made a dīkṣāmaṇḍala is drawn on the vedi consisting of a lotus with eight petals, this motive being repeated in three concentric circles on which are inscribed the twelve tokens of the zodiac. After the daily rites of the preceptor the latter sits down, facing the east, before the vedi, to perform preliminary rites, and to invoke the great masters

[505] See Joshi, *o.c.*, p. 13 ff.
[506] See e.g. Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 301.

and sages. The sage Nārada is for instance requested to preside over the ceremony. Barley, rice etc. are thrown on the eight petals of the lotus, the elements of fire are invoked and worshipped and other rites are performed; the important Gopālamantra (addressed to Kṛṣṇa, the cowherd: *klīṃ kṛṣṇāya govindāya gopījanaballabhāya svāhā*) is recited, and so on. By means of 'mystic' syllables the digits of the moon and the soul are cited to manifest themselves in water which is poured out in the kalaśa or pitcher. After the recitation of four mantras: *haṃsaḥ śuciṣat* (ṚV. 4, 40, 5), *pra tad viṣṇuḥ* (ṚV. 1, 154, 2), *tryambakaṃ yajāmahe* (ṚV. 7, 59, 12) and *viṣṇur yoniḥ* (cf. ṚV. 10, 184, 1). The oft-quoted stanza ṚV. 4, 40, 5 is e.g. KaU. 5, 2 adduced as an argument in favour of the doctrine of the identity of the individual soul and the world soul; 1, 154, 2 praises Viṣṇu in whose steps all creatures are said to live; 7, 59, 12 expresses the wish to be freed from the bonds of death, not deprived of the prospect of 'immortality'; in 10, 184, 1 Viṣṇu is requested to prepare the womb. While being widely different from those prescribed in the Vedic dīkṣā these mantras express the sense of various aspects of initiation very well: (re-)birth, victory over death, safety in and through Viṣṇu, with whom the individual soul is one. Thereupon the Gopālamantra is again pronounced. In this kalaśa Śrī-Kṛṣṇa is adored; a series of other ritual acts are duly performed. Then the sacred fire is according to the Vedic prescriptions made by drilling or brought from the house of a brahman who maintains the sacred fire, placed before the guru, and adored. Oblations to the 'sacred' number of 108 are poured out into the fire.[507]

Immediately after the aspirant, who has observed a fast and silence, undergoes the first initiatory rites: "Il s'incline devant le maître, qui arrose sa tête et son corps de quelques gouttes d'eau en prononçant l'incantation *phaṭ* et lui donne à boire un peu de pañcagavya (the five products of the cow taken collectively). Après ... le maître ... prononce à son oreille les mātṛkā, des 'incantations' d'une seule lettre. Elles sont gardées très secrètes et il est presque impossible d'en comprendre la signification réelle sans posséder la clef traditionelle. Les 'incantations' sont transmises de génération en génération ...".[508] The preceptor must drink of the five products of the cow, meditate on the Lord Kṛṣṇa who is supposed to be present in the pitcher, and pronounce, silently and 1008 times, the Gopālamantra (*klīṃ kṛṣṇāya govindāya gopījanavallabhāya*

[507] The number 108 which is of special significance in Hindu rites (108 = 6 × 18; see O. Stein, in *The Poona Orientalist*, 1, 3, Poona, 1936, p. 1 ff.) occurs, in another context, already ŚB. 10, 4, 2, 23 and 24.

[508] Joshi, p. 18.

svāhā). The aspirant must take his seat on a deer's skin (remember the Vedic usage !) and pronounce the Mātṛkāmantra[509] (which he has now learned) till he falls asleep. It may be observed that the term *pañcagavya-* does not seem to occur in texts older than the smṛtis, see Manu 11, 165 and Yājñ. 3, 263. These products themselves (milk, curds, ghee, urine, and cowdung: *kṣīraṃ dadhi tathā cājyaṃ mūtraṃ gomayam eva ca*) were however ritually used in a variety of Vedic rites; for urine see e.g. Kauś. 31, 11 ff.; for dung ibid. 26, 22; 27, 33; ŚB. 12, 4, 4, 1. However, in such late appendices to Vedic literature as AVPar. 38 the Karmakāṇḍapaddhati of the Kaṭhas[510] we find descriptions of purificatory ceremonies in which the main act consisted in the drinking of the mixture called pañcagavya – the term occurs also in other texts contained in the former collection –; the preparation of this mixture is circumstantially described and its successful effect is highly praised.

On the second day the aspirant is after some preparatory acts to undergo a ritual bathing. For that purpose he is to sit down facing the east. The guru while pronouncing mantras washes away his sins and places a shoot of grass, rice, flowers and gorocanā (orpiment) on his head. Thereupon muttering a prayer to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa he performs, utilizing the pitcher, the nīrājana (lustration) ceremony;[511] while pronouncing the Gopālamantra and the formulas belonging to this sacred 'bathing' he pours water on the initiand. This act is done three times. The formulas[512] belong to the Pāñcarātra traditions: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and a large number of minor powers are implored to perform the ablution, Vāsudeva, Janārdana etc. are requested to bless the initiate etc. A curious rite is to follow, if the mantra to be imparted to him is non-Kṛṣṇaite; in that case it must be consecrated. Next an examination is instituted as to its suitability for the initiand. After donning two new white articles of clothing (compare the Vedic use of new clothes) and having drunk some water the aspirant, facing the east, throws himself at his guru's feet and, facing the north, sits down to the south of the guru.[513] The latter presents offerings to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, makes five nyāsas on the disciple's body on which the 'sect

[509] Consisting of one akṣara.

[510] I refer to M. A. Muusses, *Koecultus bij de Hindoes*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1920), p. 63 ff.

[511] For the (non-Vedic) nīrājana which often is a long and complicated rite see Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 335 s.v.; *ibidem* II, p. 127: "Darauf soll eine mit glückerzeugenden Körpermerkmalen gesegnete Frau ... über dem Haupt des Menschengebieters die Holzschale (das schiene ein Licht mit Ölbehälter aus Holz zu sein) schwingen: "Erlöschen des Unheils (*śānti-*) sei (dir) und Gedeihen samt den Brahmanen und den eigenen Leuten"".

[512] See *Haribhaktivilāsa* 2, 82.

[513] The position of guru and brahmacārin as prescribed the gṛhyasūtras is otherwise.

marks' have already been applied. Placing his right hand on the disciple's head the guru recites one of the fundamental mantras of the community in his right ear. This act is also performed three times. It is clear that a bodily contact between teacher and pupil was at the moment of communicating a fundamental mantra not unknown in Vedic ceremonial: HGS. 1, 6, 10 *ādityāyāñjaliṃ kṛtvācāryāyopasaṃgṛhya dakṣiṇataḥ kumāra upaviśya: adhīhi bho ity uktvāthāha: sāvitrīṃ bho anubrūhi.* When the Vedic teacher intends to study the Veda together with his pupils, he should sacrifice to a number of deities while being touched by the pupils (ĀśvGS. 3, 5, 10). The Kṛṣṇaite initiand repeats the mantra whilst identifying, in his mind, guru, God and mantra. The possibility of this identification depends on the one hand on the ancient conviction that both the Vedic mantras and the brahmans who know and teach them are brahman (see e.g. ŚB. 8, 5, 3, 7; 5, 1, 1, 11), and on the other on God's being brahman. As soon as he knows the mantra by heart, the preceptor throws some water and rice in his right hand saying "This mantra must be the same for both of us". Then the 'mysterious knowledge' of the formula passes from his body to that of the initiate.

It may be noticed that the same texts give also instruction in abridged procedures of initiation. It is worth while to quote a description of such a ceremony because it will make us understand which elements of the longer ceremonies are believed to be the most essential and indispensable.[514] "Pour l'initiation abrégée, un vase est placé sur un diagramme connu sous le nom de sarvato bhadra.[515] L'orifice de l'urne est recouvert d'un linge et l'urne est remplie d'eau, de santal, de fleurs, de feuilles de cinq arbres différents, de cinq pierres précieuses et de terre prise en sept lieux différents, à savoir un endroit où vivent des cheveaux ou des éléphants, une fourmillière, une taupinière, un carrefour, la porte d'une palais, une étable (or, "grazing ground, standing-place for cows etc.") ou la rive d'un fleuve.[516] Le maître doit charmer 1008 fois l'urne avec

514 See Joshi, *o.c.*, p. 27 f.

515 This square 'mystical diagram' is mentioned Mbh. 12,40,13.

516 For the religious function and signification of ant-hills and mole-hills see Meyer, Trilogie, III, p. 56; 77; 219 (chthonian and connected with the power presiding over fertility); p. 219 "Erdaufwürfe und Ameisenhaufen, in Altindien vom Veda herab und in Deutschland ja hochmagisch, haben ihre Kraft daher, dass sie aus dem Unterirdischen, von chthonischen Wesen oder doch aus deren Wohnung kommen". The horse, sacred to Varuṇa and connected with the sun wins vāja and is "Korn- und Seelentier" (Meyer, *o.c.*, III, p. 237); the elephant was considered to be a relative of the clouds and to be influential in the process of raining. For cross-roads in Vedic belief see Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 269 f.; 494 f. etc. ("Sitz mannigfachsten Zaubers"); for a standing-place of cows, see e.g. AVPar. 15,1,2; 16,1,2. For the combination *catuṣpatheṣu goṣṭheṣu tīrtheṣu* see e.g. AVPar. 4,6,5.

l'incantation à révéler. Après avoir aspergé le disciple de quelques gouttes d'eau de l'urne il doit l'initier à l'incantation". Thus the baptism with the holy or consecrated water, the mantra – and under circumstances also the imposition of the hand – prove to be the most essential elements.

The Hari-bhakti-vilāsa[517] in which the entire body of the ritual and devotional practices of Caitanya's movement were codified and which may be quoted as another authority for Viṣṇuite religious life, deals in chapter I and II with the preceptor, disciple and mantra and with dīkṣā. A man without dīkṣā is not entitled to worship, for the act of initiation destroys all sins and bestows divine knowledge.[518] Just like Vedic initiation this Viṣṇuite dīkṣā has to take place at an auspicious moment. The text is mainly concerned with the so-called *kriyāvatī* form of *dīkṣā* which is tantric in nature and with the *paurāṇikī dīkṣā* which, though purāṇic, is not free from tantric influence. Although the elaborate ritual is widely different from the Vedic ceremonies in connection with the upanayana, there are some striking similarities. Before the Vedic initiation took place, a canopy was set up under which the saṃskāra would be performed (PārGS. 1, 4, 2). For the purpose of a Viṣṇuite dīkṣā a maṇḍapa having an 'altar' (*vedikā*) in it, is to be built.[519] The Tantric dīkṣā requires a maṇḍapa with eight flag-staffs with flags in eight directions, four doors, four portals (*toraṇa-*) consisting of milk-trees.[520] This maṇḍapa, beside which a kuṇḍa is dug, is sprinkled with the five products of the cow (*pañcagavya-*) and water. Interestingly enough the Veda student has during the samāvartana ceremonies to stand on eastward-pointed kuśa blades to the east of eight pitchers of water placed to the north of the fire in an enclosure (PGS. 2, 6, 9 ff.). The number eight indicated the eight quarters of the earth. Besprinkling himself with water drawn from these pitchers the student makes the quarters co-operate in his consecration.[521] In both rituals some preparatory acts are to be carried out on the body of the boy. The Vedic guru ties a girdle round his waist which is to impart strength (PārGS. 2, 2, 11) to him and symbolizing his being encircled by the three Vedas; he, moreover, touches the pupil's heart in order to establish a complete harmony and whole-hearted communion

517 In the following comment attention has onesidedly been drawn to similarities while some repetition has been unavoidable.

518 For a detailed description see De, *o.c.*, p. 455 ff.

519 It may be observed that some 'purāṇic' rites, e.g. the propitiation of Gaṇeśa (prescribed in the above Viṣṇuite text) which are not found in the gṛhyasūtras, in later times, found their way also into the Vedic ceremony.

520 Flags are apotropaeic, the flag-staff represents the axis mundi.

521 Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 257.

between guru and initiate. In the Tantric ritual the preceptor, after executing a number of preparatory Viṣṇuite and Tantrist rites, and after worshipping God (the Bhagavat) in a pitcher filled with water should perform the mātṛkānyāsa[522] on his body, giving him instructions regarding the meaning of this; he should, moreover, sprinkle and consecrate the person of his disciple and purify him by various ceremonies. In deviation from the Vedic rites connected with sacred thread, deer-skin, staff etc. the Viṣṇuite preceptor places sectarian marks, garlands etc. on the pupil's body and dedicates him to Kṛṣṇa. Among the features worth noticing is the prescript that after performing the Mātṛkānyāsa on the pupil's body and after contemplating the Bhagavat in the pitcher the guru and the pupil perform 1008 japas (muttered formulas) and after eating something lie down to sleep side by side on a piece of deer-skin placed on kuśa-grass: another form of bodily contact. All these preliminaries are to be carried out on the day preceding the dīkṣā-day.

On the day of the dīkṣā the guru worships the pitcher, his own guru and various deities, performs a homa and a special mudrā and sprinkles and consecrates (*abhiṣeka-*) the aspirant, purifying him by various ceremonies, dedicates him to Kṛṣṇa, placing 'sect marks' on his body and whispering the mūlamantra thrice in his right ear. The guru offers him the food consecrated to God (*mahāprasāda-*) and blesses him. According to the Vedic ritual the teacher was supposed to have conceived the boy (cf. ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 12 "by laying his right hand on (the pupil) the teacher becomes pregnant (with him)"), who afterwards is born anew with the Sāvitrī. The Viṣṇuite authorities hold that by whispering the mūlamantra in the right ear of the initiate the guru infuses his own superhuman power into him. As to the consecrated food, in gṛhyasūtras it is laid down that the Veda student, after he has taken the final bath, is allowed to eat remains of food offered to the gods and to the Fathers: in this injunction we must doubtless see the idea of placing oneself in close touch with these powers.[523]

The disciple should repeat the mantra one hundred and eight times and receive from his guru instructions with regard to his conduct and the conventions to be followed. Similar commandments meant to be practical advice as well as a symbolical performance belonged to the Vedic upanayana ceremonies (see PārGS. 2, 3, 2).

Up to the present day, the so-called secret forms of Viṣṇuite worship

[522] *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 36.
[523] For other Vedic instances of communion see Keith, Religion and philosophy, p. 270 f.

which find their adherents chiefly among the neglected lower ranks of the population know a second initiation, imparted for instance by wandering ascetics. Those who become initiated receive a second mantra and an explication of its meaning as a higher form of Viṣṇuism. This second mantra is represented as necessary to make operative the latent power of the first or dīkṣā mantra. The relative ritual performances take place at night.[524]

H. DĪKṢĀ IN ŚIVAISM

Dīkṣā is a very important ceremony in all schools of Śivaism. When, in the course of transmigration, the soul has reached a considerable state of purity so as to strive after omniscience – which leads to emancipation – Lord Śiva, extending his grace, instructs the soul, manifesting himself as an internal light or as a guru. "Par Son regard, Son toucher ou Son enseignement, Il donne l'initiation purificatrice (*dīkṣā*). Si l'ignorance de l'âme était due à une simple absence de connaissance, elle pourrait être ôtée par la connaissance; mais l'impureté originelle (*mala-*[525]) est une entité; elle a une nature positive et ne peut être ôtée que par une autre entité positive. D'où la nécessité de cette initiation purificatrice (*dīkṣā*). Et la nécessité de l'intervention du maître ne cesse pas immédiatement après la dīkṣā. Le maître doit continuer à aider quelque temps encore .... Quand cela est terminé, ... l'âme reconnaît sa propre 'qualité de Shiva' (*śivatva-*) ... C'est l'étape finale de la libération".[526] It is therefore the faith of the 'non-Vedic' (*avaidika-*) Śivaites that he who has not received the *śaivī dīkṣā* does not attain mokṣa. It may also easily be understood that the *dīkṣita-* is in Śivaite circles considered a manifestation of the all-penetrating God: SauraP. 23, 8 *bhūmir āpo 'nalo vāyur vyoma sūryaś ca candramāḥ / aṣṭamī dīkṣitas tatra mūrtir īśasya śūlinaḥ.*

On the maturation of *mala-* – which in Śivaism corresponds to the *avidyā* of the other systems – and the approach of the termination of the influence of the Lord's obscuring power, there is the descent of His grace (*anugraha-śakti-*). God awakens through His supreme power (*śakti-*) and through the instrumentality of a guru the soul from its eternal sleep

[524] See M. T. Kennedy, *The Chaitanya movement* (Oxford, 1925), p. 211 f.
[525] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 202; 228 etc. For the purificatory function of the dīkṣā see also V. A. Devasenapati, *Śaiva Siddhānta* (Madras 1960), p. 233 etc.
[526] M.S.S. Suryanarayana Sastri, quoted by J. Herbert, *Spiritualité hindoue* (Paris, 1947), p. 36 f. Similarly, the same, in H. Bhattacharyya (editor), *The cultural heritage of India*, III (Calcutta², 1953), p. 395 f.

of delusion. Then the soul begins to abhor worldly life and to take interest in the attainment of emancipation. It finds a competent guru, who gives dīkṣā which ultimately disentangles it from the *pāśas*, destroying the corruptive power of mala. Dīkṣā is thus regarded as the most essential condition of emancipation. It removes the soul's *paśutva-* ("animality")[527] and restores it to its pristine *śivatva-* or divine nature.

There may be room for the comment that ancient and widespread ideas in connection with 'initiation', 'consecration' or 'transmutation' have here been embedded in the typically Śivaite pattern of Hinduism and are put into practice in the framework of Hindu ritual, requiring different kuṇḍas (receptacles for fire) and maṇḍalas ('mystic drawings').[528] Purification, i.e. the removal of hostile and counteracting influences, the attraction of favourable influences, the formation and development of the personality, the attainment of higher stages of existence, and aspiration to self-perfection were already in Vedic times the main purposes of the saṃskāras, the so-called sacraments, and then also the guru – the brahman who is bráhman – had an important part in their administration. The substitution of the impersonal brahman by the personal God, – and hence the belief that Śiva, God, personally presents Himself before the disciple in the form of the guru – the philosophical development of the traditional Weltanschauung and their attendant reinterpretation of ancient beliefs and customs as well as the general acceptance of the transmigration axiom and the mokṣa ideal modified, but did not fundamentally alter, the traditional views of, and institutions connected with, 'initiation' and 'consecration'.

The Śaiva-Siddhānta agrees with other religious schools that the one who has the authority to initiate others is the guru who has received *ācāryābhiṣeka-* (see further on). The ŚaivaSiddhāntins – though far from unanimous as to details – are of the opinion that Śiva does not manifest himself to all souls in the same way. This explains why there are different methods of initiation (*dīkṣā*).[529] It is necessary "to be initiated into the mysteries of the Śaiva religion" before one may efficaciously perform one of the manifestations of bhakti, that is follow the three paths of *caryā* (external service to God), *kriyā* (worship) and *yoga-* (mental worship of God in His subtler form), which are the means by which the soul may place itself in a position for the reception of the imprint of God's grace.

527 *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 204.
528 See also T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu iconography* (Madras, 1916), II, 1, p. 10 ff.
529 H. W. Schomerus, *Der Çaiva-Siddhānta* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 315 ff.

Purification is of many kinds, according to some authorities in accordance with the caste of the person and the extend to which his *mala-* has ripened. Some souls need *nayana-dīkṣā*, "instruction by the eye": the guru while looking at the disciple destroys the last remnants of the *āṇavamala-* – the fundamental evil conditioning the soul's delusion that it is limited[530] – so as to enlighten him. Similar methods of the same value are dīkṣā by touching five parts of the pupil's body and transmitting in this way the right knowledge; the *vācaka-dīkṣā* (oral instruction); the *mānasa-dīkṣā* by means of 'hypnosis'; the *śāstra-dīkṣā* (instruction in philosophy), *yoga-dīkṣā* by means of asceticism and yoga; and *hotṛ-dīkṣā* (instruction through religious symbols). The last method is twofold, one course being intended for children, women, old people, the diseased and uneducated, who while excused from their religious duties, meet their daily obligations to the best of their abilities. From an elaborate description of this method it appears that the instruction by the guru is not a sudden enlightenment, but a "stufenweise sich fortentwickelnder Prozesz". There are four planes, that of hearing the instruction, of meditating on it, that of understanding it and, finally, *samādhi-* (perfection, "die Stufe der Anwendung"). A few lines are worth quoting (Śivajñānasiddhiār:[531] "Wie von dem Kristal ein Glanz ausgeht, wenn die Sonne auf ihn scheint, so wird, wenn der göttliche Guru kommt und gnadenvoll vor ihm erscheint, das erste Jñāna (Hören) entstehen. Wenn es entsteht, dann wird der Schüler in dem Guru Śiva erkennen, dann wird ihm das eigene Selbst offenbar, dann wird die ganze Welt in ihm selbst offenbar, dann wird das ganze Wesen Śivas ... direkt offenbar. Bei genügender Reife wächst das Jñāna, dann werden die Schüler durch die Gnade des Guru darüber nachsinnen und wünschen, Samādhi zu erlangen. Diese werden in der Welt wie Jīvanmukta sein ....., werden so mit Śiva in Advaita-Verbindung verbunden sein, dasz sie weder Gott verlassen noch Gott sie und werden auszer Śiva nichts anderes sehen".

While therefore the dīkṣā ceremony varies with the recipient, it is generally agreed that he who has renounced family life and is expectant of gaining mokṣa by constantly adoring his guru is the fittest person for dīkṣā. We are reminded of the ancient saṃnyāsa and veneration of the guru.

A further distinction is made[532] between the so-called *samaya-dīkṣā*,

530 *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 235 f.
531 See Schomerus, *o.c.*, p. 23; 317; Devasenapati, *o.c.*, p. 238 ff.
532 See also J. H. Piet, *A logical presentation of the Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy* (Madras, 1952), p. 129.

the initiation by which a person is admitted into the fold of Śivaism; the *viśeṣa-dīkṣā* which introduces him into the rites and mysteries of this religion and grants him the special privilege of performing the acts of pūjā to Śiva in caryā and kriyā; the *nirvāṇa-dīkṣā* which enables the initiate to free himself from the bonds of material existence so as to attain final emancipation; it also authorizes him to officiate in temples; and finally, the *abhiṣeka-dīkṣā*, or institution into guruship. One of the formalities of this dīkṣā is the yoking on, by the guru, to the soul of the initiate the six qualities which distinguish Śiva, viz. omniscience etc. The institution in guruship requires an anointment.[533]

It may be contended that the above methods of initiation, though largely affected by yoga practices, are in a way specializations developed from ancient ritual acts, part of which had entered also into the composition of the upanayana ritual. There the teacher looks at the boy with a mantra and causes him to pronounce the formula: "I have come here for brahmacarya" (GGS. 2, 10, 20). He takes hold of the hands of the pupil, of the place of his heart etc.; he gives him oral instruction. That there were other possibilities of transference may appear from Mbh. 1, 3 (Pauṣya) where the guru imparts to a pupil the knowledge of the Veda by expressing his satisfaction with the pupil's behaviour. Interestingly enough we find here (i.e. in Śivaism) also the imposition of the hand: by the act of placing the hand "which is the embodiment of enlightenment"[534] first on the head, then over the whole body of the disciple the god, i.e. Śiva himself, dispels the darkness of ignorance (the *pāśas*) which enveloped him. Another ancient element is represented by the blindfolding, "that he might not see sinners":[535] no doubt, a re-interpretation.

It may further be assumed that in contradistinction to the two stages of 'initiation' which could supply the wants of Vedic man – the upanayana by which young men became prepared for full membership of the socio-religious community, and the dīkṣā by which the married sacrificer was transfigured – the religious life and ritual practice of later times required a more complicated system of 'initiations'. The evolution of guruship and the divergence between the daily performance of pūjā and the aspiration to final emancipation had led to a certain differentiation which in its turn required some special 'initiations'.

A counterpart of the Vedic vratas and the observances of the ancient

533 Cf. the term *gurudīkṣā-* "initiation into the office of a spiritual preceptor" occurring in the SkandaP. (Monier-Williams).

534 Rao, *o.c.*, II, 1, p. 11.

535 Rao, *l.c.*

ascetics is not lacking. The *samayācāras* imposed upon the person who has undergone the *viśeṣa-dīkṣā* comprise abstinence from reviling Śiva, the Śivaitic śāstras and the guru, from crossing even the shadow of these; doing pūjā to Śiva and the guru, etc.

In Kashmir Śivaism[536] the most important method of attaining integral Śivahood is dīkṣā or initiation. As a result of *śaktipāta-* i.e. dispensation of divine grace a person is brought to a real guru. The dīkṣā imparted by this guru awakens the *kriyāśakti-* ("power of activity") in the limited soul which is devoid of *svātantrya-* ("independence" or "freedom of will"). The development of *kriyāśakti-* ultimately means the soul's ability to absorb and integrate the object, the "it", seemingly separate from itself, within its own self. "The consummation of this development is the soul's recognition and realization of itself as the integral 'I' ....., the dawning of the true knowledge about the real and ultimate nature of the Puruṣa...".[537] This may lead to the enjoyment, in this life, of the inherent reawakened Śivahood.

In Vīraśaivism, dīkṣā has been made compulsory for each member. "It is dīkṣā that opens the door of Vīraśaivism, being a ceremony used also to admit into the fold a non-Vīraśaiva. It is as essential as the dīkṣā or initiation of the yajamāna and his wife before the beginning of a sacrifice ....., though in Vīraśaivism it is neither so elaborate nor so intricate. It is a simple rite combined with ethical preachings and with the mysticism of the Yoga .....".[538] Because it is to be performed at the very beginning of one's career, the authoritative books enjoin that it should take place immediately after birth. But in practice dīkṣā is imparted to all at least twice, viz. at birth and again when one reaches one's eighth year, "probably in imitation of the upanayana of the brahmans". That is to say that dīkṣā answers to baptism as well as 'initiation' in other religions. Other dīkṣās may be performed also, for instance when one feels disgusted with worldly life. Needless to say that the generally felt need of 'consecratory' rites and the initiatory character of some well-known ancient rites might in certain milieus be adapted to their particular needs and purposes. The signification of these rites was very well understood by Dubois:[539] "Quoi-

536 See e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 224 ff.; J. C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism* (Srinagar, 1914); Arabinda Basu, in H. Bhattacharyya, *The cultural heritage of India*, IV (Calcutta, ²1956), p. 79.

537 A. Basu, *o.c.*, p. 93 f.

538 S. C. Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism* (Dharwar, 1942), p. 67; Shree Kumaraswamiji, in H. Bhattacharyya, *The cultural heritage of India*, IV (Calcutta, ²1956), p. 100 ff.

539 Dubois, *o.c.*, I, p. 184 f.

que les enfants embrassent ordinairement le culte de leurs pères, cependant, par leur naissance seule, ils n'ont pas droit de devenir vichnouvistes ou linganistes. Ils ne sont admis dans la secte de leurs parents qu'à un certain âge, et ils y sont alors initiés par le gourou. La cérémonie qui a lieu pour cela s'appelle dikcha; elle consiste à prononcer sur le néophyte plusieurs mantrams ou prières adaptées à la circonstance ....". In a note, the author adds that the Indian Christians often call baptism jñāna-dīkṣā "c'est-à-dire, 'initiation spirituelle'".

There are more points from which it appears that this śivaitic dīkṣā has not developed without any contact with the Vedic brahmanistic tradition. Whereas in this tradition fire plays an essential part, its place is, in the ceremonies of the Vīraśaivas, taken by the liṅga, which is identified with Agni. Omitting other details I draw attention to one moment: the guru-initiator has to look very intently into the eyes of the child which is to be received into the community, a process which, it may be remembered, is not foreign to the ancient ritual, and by which the Vīraśaiva guru is believed to extract the spiritual principle from the child's body and to place it in the liṅga which has already been consecrated by the initiator. The initiate is then supplied with the eight emblems of Vīraśaivism, among which is the liṅga. Henceforward he is supposed to lead a virtuous life according to his promise[540] and the principles of Vīraśaivism and expected not to suffer a rebirth. This important rite is indeed "considered to be a means of spiritual birth".[541] In the Vedic ritual also special importance was attached to the observance of socio-religious duties and the assumption of a dignified demeanour after the samāvartana.

A curious instance of the adaptation of an ancient ritual to the particular beliefs and practices of a religious system is furnished by the followers of Gorakhnāth[542] who distinguish two stages of initiation, a probationary period, which in many respects recalls the upanayana and is followed by preliminary discipleship and the ceremony of splitting the ears, which leads to full membership of the community. During the former the candidate takes the vows of ahiṃsā, chastity etc. and receives the mantra and the ochre-coloured monastic clothes as well as the sacred thread of the order; his hair is shaven; he begins to serve his guru, who gives him a new name, attends his teaching and performs certain other

[540] If a newly born child is received into the community the solemn promise is obtained from its parents.
[541] Nandimath, *o.c.*, p. 73.
[542] G. W. Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kānphaṭa Yogīs* (Calcutta-Oxford, 1938), esp. p. 27 ff.; M. Singh, *Gorakhnāth and mediaeval mysticism* (Lahore, 1937).

duties. Any reference to the many points of agreement with the Vedic upanayana would be a superfluity. Although some novices wait for twelve years they may, generally speaking, proceed with the final stage of initiation when the guru is satisfied and considers them prepared. By the splitting of the ears the novice becomes a yogī. The duties of a yogī are various; he continues serving his teacher whose adopted son he is considered to be. Not all yogīs are vowed to celibacy. By various methods of purification, rejuvenation, perfection and transsubstantiation, which are based on a mystic-philosophical substructure their aim is to invest the life-process so that the Śakti aspect (activity and transmution) is absorbed into the Śiva aspect of perfect divine tranquillity.

J. TANTRIST DĪKṢĀ

It is in harmony with Vedic usance in connection with pupilship that the authors of Tantric texts also enjoin the aspirant to live for some time in the house of his guru.[543] During this period the guru tests the reality of his devotion to himself and to the godhead by giving him hard commands. From the Kulārṇava[544] and other tantras it appears that in respect to 'moral behaviour' these tests are, in letter or in spirit, and sometimes also in minor details, in agreement with the Vedic prescriptions. It is for instance said to be useless to impart initiation to one who is the pupil of another, or is a cunning and fraudulent man, or does not live in marital harmony – in rites the help of the wife is required – or who has any physical defect or has passed the proper time for initiation.

As it is no part of our task to describe the history of upanayana a few words may suffice to show that also the ritual acts of the upavītakriyā (MahānT. 9, 185) are in many respects reminiscent – and no doubt a continuation – of the Vedic practices. According to the Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra[545] it is this "sacred thread ceremony" which qualifies the twice-born for performing rites. It should take place between the eighth and sixteenth year (a Vedic regulation). Before leading his son to a guru a father has to perform a number of rites (not prescribed in the Veda). The boy should be given a little to eat (cf. e.g. MGS. 1, 22, 3), he is shaved,

[543] For a brahman this period is a year, for a kṣatriya two years etc.
[544] See further on.
[545] In the following paragraph Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's ed. (Calcutta, 1884) has been followed. There would be no use in furnishing the reader with a complete account, because the text has been translated and explained by A. Avalon (= Sir John Woodroffe), *The great liberation* (Madras, [3]1953), p. 288 ff.

bathed and adorned etc. (Vedic: GGS. 2, 10, 7 etc.). The boy should then be taken to a clean space with an awning over it near the fire under the name of samudbhava (not Vedic), and there made to sit to the left of the guru (as observed elsewhere, this position is subject to variation). The first formulas run as follows: *brahmacaryaṃ kuru vatsa* and *brahmacaryaṃ karomi*. Thereupon the preceptor gives two pieces of kaṣāya cloth (i.e. the cotton cloth of brick-red colour as worn by saṃnyāsins) "for a long life and spiritual eminence (*varcase*)". (This is, in principle, Vedic, see ĀśvGS. 1, 19, 9 "if they put on garments, they should put on dyed ones, reddish-yellow (*kaṣāya-*) for a brahmāṇa etc.").[546] Next, the guru gives the boy the girdle (Vedic), and the latter pronounces the formula *subhagā mekhalā syāt śubhapradā* (the first two words form part of the Vedic formula spoken by the guru: HGS. 1, 4, 4; PGS. 2, 2, 8). The words are however preceded by the Tantric bījamantra *hrīṃ*. This is in accordance with MahānT. 9, 10: in the former ages of the world the mantras were preceded by the powerful syllable Oṃ, in the present Kali age, the same mantras are used, but preceded by *hrīṃ*. The sacrificial thread is then given with the mantra *yajñopavītaṃ paramaṃ pavitram* etc. which is also handed down in PGS. 2, 2, 10.[547] Though obviously a younger insertion, this occurrence shows how 'Vedic' ritual was in the course of time amalgamated with other elements. The next formula ṚV. 10, 9, 1 *āpo hi ṣṭhā* etc. is in contradistinction to Vedic usage prescribed to accompany the filling of the boy's hands with water. These words are however preceded and followed by *hrīṃ*. After the youth has offered water to Sūrya, the teacher should show him the sun and recite the formula *hrīṃ, tac cakṣur devahitam* etc. which is ṚV. 7, 66, 16 (in b however *purastāc chukram uccaret* instead of *śukram uccarat*). This act and the mantra are mentioned in MGS. 1, 22, 11 (see KGS. 41, 14; VGS. 5, 15). After the youth has regarded the sun, the guru addresses him as follows: "Place they heart on my 'vow', I bestow my disposition upon you etc. (*mama vrate mano dhehi* etc.), which corresponds to MGS. 1, 22, 10, where it is used in connection with the girdle, whereas PGS. 2, 2, 16 and KGS. 41, 9 prescribed it to accompany the touching of the region of the heart.[548] ĀśvGS. 1, 21, 7 has this mantra used after the communication of the Sāvitrī. Instead of the second line *mama vācam ekavrato juṣasva bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā niyunaktu mahyam* the MahānT. reads *juṣasvaikamanā vatsa mama vāco 'stu te śivam*. The next stanzas describe the conversation between guru and pupil ("what

546 See also A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 51 f.
547 See J. S. Speyer, *Jātakarma*, Thesis (Leiden, 1872), p. 22.
548 For particulars see M. J. Dresden, *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1941), p. 98.

is your name? etc."). The words "you are the brahmacārin of Indra and Fire is your ācārya"[549] recur also here. After this interview is over the guru consigns the boy to the protection of the devas (Prajāpati, Savitar, Varuṇa etc.). This passage replaces the mantras and acts prescribed in the gṛhyasūtras (from which, however, the name of Prajāpati is not absent).[550]

According to the Tantric rites the youth should thereafter make a pradakṣiṇa round the sacrificial fire and the guru. The latter should offer five oblations (to Prajāpati, Śakra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva) into the fire. Hereafter oblations should be offered to Durgā and other goddesses, to Indra and the other dikpālas (regents of the quarters), to the sun and the planets. The guru then covers the pupil with cloth; and now the latter should ask for instruction. The rules given by the Vedic sūtrakāras – who are not in complete agreement – though in a way parallel in tenor, are different in particulars.[551] The guru communicates and explains the Gāyatrī (Sāvitrī). The remark that Sadāśiva is the ṛṣi who 'saw' this formula and some other details (MahānT. 9, 212) are Tantric; post-Vedic are also the addition that the mantra *Oṃ* is called Tāra and means the supreme Lord (Pareśa) who is beyond prakṛti or "nature" and some digressions on the meaning of the mantra. Some particulars mentioned in part of the gṛhyasūtras (e.g. ŚGS. 2, 5, 4 ff.: the mantra should be recited in the gāyatrī metre to a brahman etc.) do not on the other hand return here. Whereas the gṛhyasūtras now turn to the description of the various obligations of the pupil (*i. a.* the begging of alms), of the Veda study etc., the MahānT. proceeds to describe the instructions in the duties of a householder, because the pupil's body is sanctified by the instruction which he has received in 'Divine Wisdom' (st. 221 *brahmavidyopadeśena*). The custom is however that immediately after the investiture with the sacred thread friends and relatives should give the pupil money or other 'alms'. The latter, taking off his kaṣāya cloth, girdle etc., gives them, together with his begging-bowl etc., to the guru, who finally adresses him: "Conquer the senses, speak the truth etc." (cf. TU. 1, 11). The ceremony is brought to a close by some oblations, offered by the disciple, into the the Samudbhava-fire, and by the (Vedic) sviṣṭikṛt-homa[552] etc. to be performed by the guru.

549 See e.g. R. Gopal, *India of the Vedic kalpasūtras* (New Delhi, 1959), p. 297.
550 I refer to Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, p. 53; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II (Poona, 1941), p. 282.
551 See e.g. Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 298 f.
552 This oblation takes place after another (principal) oblation in order to make that operative. See e.g. ĀpŚS. 7,25,14.

It is characteristic of the difference between the Vedic and the Tantric dīkṣā that in the former the co-operation of one of the sixteen officiants, the adhvaryu, the performer of the ritual acts, in the latter that of the guru, is a necessity. Their rôles are, moreover, not the same. The adhvaryu invites his client, the yajamāna, to accompany him and proceeds to arrange the ritual dress, leaving the shaving proper etc. to the barber.[553] While performing a number of ritual acts the adhvaryu pronounces formulas, some of which state what he is doing or are to avert accidents, some express blessings. Other formulas are however pronounced by the yajamāna who has also to perform part of the acts himself.

Another point worth mentioning is the 'secret character' ascribed to initiation. In the former ages of the world, MahānT. 10, 110 says, this rite was a great secret, but in the present Kali age the Kaula rites[554] should be practised without concealment and the initiation be carried out openly (10, 111; cf. 4, 78).

A guru who is not foolish must not give instruction to one who is not purified and has not received the saṃskāras. He must not proceed to impart the initiation before he has given the aspirant instruction in the mantra. That these prescriptions have a magical aspect is obvious: if the guru contravenes these rules the potency of his mantras is lost. Besides, the load of the sins of a pupil will destroy the guru's siddhi. The texts moreover warn against the opinion that a person may be initiated at any time. The proper time for initiation is at the age of sixteen. According to many gṛhyasūtras the time for the performance of the upanayana does not expire till the sixteenth year (in the case of a brāhmaṇa). One who has not received initiation at the proper time derives no fruit from the saṃskāra ("sacrament") of taking Hari's name. It is impossible completely to perform sādhana after the expiry of the time for sādhana and a mantra which has not been matured by sādhana does not bear fruit.[555] If death comes, the chances are gone, because only this Bhāratavarṣa, the Indian country, is – in agreement with the general Hindu conviction – regarded as the field of liberation.

However, Tantrism[556] developed a number of practices which, though in part not unknown from elsewhere, are in their consistent development

553 See Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 11 ff.

554 See *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 37.

555 Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, (London, 1914; Madras, ²1952), p. 864.

556 *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 26 ff. (with a bibliography); J. Woodroffe, *Shakti and Shākta* (London, 1929), p. 407 ff.; Ch. Chakravarti, *Tantras, Studies on their religion and literature* (Calcutta, 1963); P. G. Bagchi, in H. Bhattacharyya, *The cultural heritage of India* (Calcutta, ²1956), p. 213.

and systematic form peculiar to it. Although it is true that Tantrism is also concerned with the attainment of ascendancy over the forces of nature by exoteric ritual as well as by the esoteric ritual involving the yogic practice, it not only simplifies traditional rituals of the Vedic type, but also introduces new symbols and a greater complexity in the esoteric portion. Essential to Tantrism is the marked difference between the initiated and the uninitiated, and, corresponding to it, a sharp division between an esoteric and an exoteric doctrine. Compare KulārṇT. 14, 89 ff. *dīkṣāviddhas ... śivatvaṃ labhate ... / / dīkṣāgnidagdhakarmāsau māyāvicchinnabandhanaḥ / gataḥ parāṃ jñānakāṣṭhāṃ ... / / gataṃ śūdrasya śūdratvaṃ ... / dīkṣāsaṃskārasampanne jātibhedo na vidyate*, and st. 96 *adīkṣitā ye kurvanti japapūjādikāḥ kriyāḥ / na phalanti ... teṣām śilāyām uptabījavat.*

In maintaining that the really efficacious methods of salvation can be learned only by personal contact with a spiritual instructor the Tantrists do not in principle teach something new. The true Vedic lore could also be transferred only by a guru to whom the pupil had to submit in complete obedience, and small circles of aspirants to esoteric lore gathered already in early times around the upaniṣadic teachers. In Tantrism the guru stands in the place of the Lord Himself, i.e. of God or Buddha. Without initiation one cannot ever begin a spiritual training. Whereas Conze[557] is no doubt right in pointing out the ancient and 'primitive' roots of these initiatory practices, his view that they derive from "the ancient Indian ritual of the inauguration of a Crown Prince" is questionable. In my eyes, the main results ensuing from a collection of the facts and parallels presented in this chapter are the generality, the almost universal existence, the commonness and necessity of 'consecratory' or 'initiatory' rites in ancient and medieval India, and the mutual similarity of a considerable part of their components. What is less clear is the exact channels through which the different rites have exerted influence on each other and how, and when, they came to be composed of various elements. I for one am, it is true, strongly convinced that the Vedic dīkṣā as well as the upanayana have influenced and modified later initiatory and consecratory rites, but I would hesitate to consider one particular Vedic rite the only source of Tantric initiation ceremonies.

Among the methods applied in the Tantrist schools three are especially conspicuous, viz. the recitation of mantras; the performance of ritual gestures; the meditative identification with deities. After the many

557 E. Conze, *Buddhism, its essence and development* (Oxford, ²1953), p. 180 f.

remarks made by my predecessors and myself[558] on the use of mantras[559] and after all that has been said on this topic in the preceding part of this chapter, it would be needless to emphasize their importance in any Indian consecratory rite. It may however be noticed that the Buddhists whose tantras abound with mantras, though creating new formulas of their own, borrowed traditional mantras of Brahmanism.[560] Thus we find beside mantras expressing cardinal truths representing Mahāyānic faith and philosophy and considered to have been revealed by the Lord Buddha himself such ancient 'mystic syllables' as *oṃ, huṃ*.[561]

The great importance attached by the Tantrist authorities to mantras, their presumed infallibility and their rôle as the chief vehicle of salvation is well known, but we should not overlook[562] that they already in pre-Buddhist times were indispensable and always had the function to consecrate the ritual acts and to make them perfect and valid. "That in the ritual performance is perfect which is perfect in form, that rite which as it is performed is described by the mantra" (cf. AiB. 2, 2, 33). All so-called Vedic 'sacraments' (*saṃskāras*) from the conception to the cremation are for instance to be performed with Vedic mantras; the formulas required are, in each school, fixed and traditionally handed down. The mantras which are explicitly identified with brahman (ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 5) are extremely powerful (AiB. 5, 4, 8). They have always been "a means of getting into touch with the unseen forces around us", and also in Vedic times "benevolent higher beings"[563] enabled the inspired seers to receive them.[564] When the Buddhist Mahāvairocanasūtra, ch. IV states that a miraculous force resides in the mantras so that by pronouncing them "one acquires merit without limits", this idea is already pre-Buddhistic and also non-Buddhistic. Compare e.g. ŚB. 11, 5, 7, 1 ff.; ChU. 2, 23, 1; TU. 1, 11, 1; Manu 2, 107; 3, 66; 11, 246f. etc..

The opinions and theories enunciated in the Tantrist schools of religious thought with regard to the theory and the practice of the mantra have been extremely consistent; the character of these rituals permitted them to

[558] See *Oriens*, 16, p. 244 ff.
[559] See also A. Avalon, *Principles of tantra*², p. 727 ff.
[560] For parallel cases etc. see e.g. S. B. Dasgupta, *An introduction to Tantric Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1950), passim.
[561] These are also interpreted *oṃkāraḥ saṃrjet sattvān buddharūpāgrakalpitān / huṃkāraḥ saṃharet sattvān*... (Pañcakrama), see Dasgupta, *o.c.*, p. 185.
[562] Cf. Conze, *o.c.*, p. 182.
[563] Cf. Conze, *o.c.*, p. 183.
[564] See especially the present author's book *The vision of the Vedic poets*, 's-Gravenhage 1963, ch. II. For Buddhism see also L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux* (London, 1898), p. 210 ff.

lay special emphasis on their importance; their philosophers did not hesitate to devote a good deal of their attention to them. They moreover developed various operations in the process of the recitation (*japa-*), viz. methods of contemplative recitation, including the regulation of the breath; recitation accompanied by offerings (such as flowers, perfume etc.); the recitation of realisation, when one attains "success" (*siddhi-*) through the power inherent in the mantras. However, these various functions of the mantras and various methods of employing them were already known before the tantrist trends of thought came to the fore.[565] Mantras were not only absolutely essential in the Vedic ritual, it was also part of the daily observances of ascetics and other people to mutter, on a variety of occasions, mantras; muttering of the Gāyatrī is for instance prescribed as the principal part of the morning and evening adoration (Yājñ. 1, 99); MaiU. 6, 26 already teaches "a sacrifice of suppressed breath, in which the light of the world-source becomes visible" and this "sacrifice" required the mantra *Oṃ* (cf. also 6, 9); the sexual act is raised to the rank of a rite when it is accompanied by the proper mantra (BĀU. 6, 4, 21); mantras are said to give success when they are employed in the right way (Ṛgvidhāna 2, 1); *japa-* gives the highest perfection (ViDh. 55, 21). The different Hindu and Buddhist schools amalgamated the general doctrines and practices in connection with mantras with their particular basic views and philosophical tenets. Thus, the doctrine that the mantras owe their power to the original force of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas is typically Buddhist. It is on the other hand only a variation on an ancient theme: a mantra is expressly identified as identical with the brahman itself and hence also called brahman.[566]

In Tantric ritual "initiation" (*dīkṣā*) consists in the giving of the mantra by the guru. One is reminded of the opinion of ancient sūtrakāras such as Kauśika (17, 31 ff.) according to whom Vedic initiation is not possible without the teaching of the Sāvitrī;[567] it seems to have been the general practice to impart that important mantra on the very day of upanayana. It was this teaching that signalized the second birth of the pupil (Manu 2, 170: "the Sāvitrī is his mother, the teacher his father"). At the time of the initiation the Tantric guru must first establish "the life of the guru"[568] – i.e. the vital force of the Supreme Guru – in his own body, because the divinity is supposed to inhere in it. The Vedic guru has before teaching to

[565] See *Vision*, p. 66 (with a bibliography).
[566] See my *Notes on brahman* (Utrecht, 1950) passim.
[567] See e.g. also Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 283; 300 ff.
[568] See also J. Woodroffe, *Introduction to Tantra Shastra* (Madras, ²1952), p. 68 f.

abstain from sexual intercourse etc. in order to be "in the best condition". Before receiving the mantra the Tantric disciple must fast and observe continence. The day prior to the ceremony proper the guru should seat the initiand on a mat of kuśa grass. It is needless again to recall the ancient initiation rites. The Vedic disciple had to spend the whole night in absolute silence. Whereas the latter had a silver ring tucked into his top-knot – still a local custom in many provinces[569] – the guru of the former ties his crown lock.

The Tantric disciple has to repeat the mantra after it has been communicated to him thrice and to prostrate himself at the feet of the guru. The Vedic students should touch their guru while he offers the introductory oblations.[570] According to the Tantric view initiation destroys sins and gives spiritual knowledge. Thus A. B. Ghosh[571] says that dīkṣā means "that which gives a knowledge of things divine and destroys all that leads to a fall". The teacher, for example, explains how the three akṣaras *a*, *u*, and *m*, constituting the praṇava (*Oṃ*) represent the three constituents of all material existence; how these are embodied in Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, and how these three great gods can function only with the co-operation of their respective śaktis. The aspirant has also to learn the other esoteric meanings of *Oṃ* in order to reach a state which is "beyond quiescence". The Vedic 'initiation', Manu (2, 26) says, purifies this life as well as the other; and another authority, Aṅgiras, is of the opinion that it produces brahmanhood.[572] An analysis of the praṇava and an explication of its elements occur already PrU. 5, 5, MaiU. 6, 5; in ChU. 1, 1 etc. it is already an object of speculation. The 'orthodox' authorities hold that the removal of hostile influences, the annihilation of impurity, the gain of prosperity and intelligence, the attainment of heaven or of the status of a ṛsi and "the vicinity of brahman" was among the aims and effects of all saṃskāras. Without the dīkṣā, Tantrist authorities hold, japa of the mantra, pūjā and other ritual acts are useless. Without the upanayana no study of the Veda and ritual use of Vedic texts is allowed.[573] These views also are in principle nothing new. Without upanayana no normal Aryan life was possible; those who failed to submit themselves to this rite were, as already observed,[574] neither religiously nor socially up to the mark, – to say the least of it. Even marriage was not possible for them.

569 Pandey, *Hindu saṃskāras*, p. 218.
570 For other ceremonies see Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 302 ff.
571 A. B. Ghosh, in *The cultural heritage of India*², IV, p. 245.
572 See Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 198.
573 See also Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 197.
574 See p. 317.

The Tantrists are of the opinion that the mode of initiation varies according to the disposition and the competency of the disciple. The ordinary dīkṣā may, like the upanayana, be an elaborate procedure consisting of many ritual acts. Those who are initiated according to this method arrive at the realization of the oneness with Śiva only by slow degrees, each according to his abilities. Men of higher competency are however initiated by other methods. The quickest and most effective of these is the *vedhadīkṣā*[575]. A person initiated according to this method realizes at once the oneness of his own self with that of the teacher, the mantra and the deity. He becomes "the very self of Śiva (God)".[576] The Vedic texts prescribe different details in accordance with the social class to which the candidate belongs. Sometimes also a special procedure is laid down for the deaf and the dumb and for idiots.[577]

Besides, there are some special forms of initiation, called *abhiṣeka*- "sprinkling". "Au moyen des aspersions rituelles le maître achève l'initiation du novice". In Tantrism abhiṣeka[578] is of eight kinds, the later forms marking higher degrees of initiation. The first (*śāktābhiṣeka-*) is given on entrance into the path of sādhana,[579] which is to unfold the higher knowledge and power and to realize bliss. It cleanses the pupil of all evil proclivities, making him acquire a new śakti, because then the guru reveals to him the preliminary mysteries of śakti-tattva. After the second abhiṣeka the real exertions of sādhana begin, postures, yamas etc. helping the adept to persevere. The third, called *krama-dīkṣābhiṣeka-*, introduces a very difficult stage in his career. After having undergone various ordeals he receives the *sāmrājyābhiṣekās* and *yoga-dīkṣābhiṣeka-*. On the attainment of the *pūrṇa-dīkṣābhiṣekās* he is to perform his own funeral rite (*śrāddha-*); after this he is a *jīvanmukta-*. It is clear that this preparation to the *summum bonum* really is a yoga course, the main stages of which are marked and introduced by 'consecrations'.

575 See above, p. 423.
576 The Jayadratha-yāmala even goes so far as to distinguish twenty-five kinds of *dīkṣā*, e.g. *tattva-dīkṣā*, *bhuvana-dīkṣā*, *pāda-dīkṣā*, *varṇa-dīkṣā*, *mantra-dīkṣā*, *śakti-dīkṣā*, *sparśa-dīkṣā*, *vedha-dīkṣā*, *vastra-dīkṣā*, etc. etc. These 'initiations' clearly imply various modes of sādhana (methods of attaining the religious aim or final beatitude). This catalogue is due to tendencies to schematize, to specialize and to classify all variants.
577 I refer to Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 297 ff.
578 De la Vallée Poussin, *o.c.*, p. 208, adding: "Le maître qui donne l'*upadeśa*- et l'*abhiṣeka*- est le substitut des Tathāgata ou de Vajrasattva. Par la grâce des Bouddhas, le fidèle reçoit le baptême et pratique la méditation". See the short chapter in Woodroffe, *Introduction*, p. 70 f.
579 For sādhana see *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 39 etc.; S. Prabhavananda, *The spiritual heritage of India* (London, 1962), p. 147.

According to the doctrines laid down in the Tantras all muttering of prayers (*japa-*) and religious austerity (*tapasyā-*) is based on initiation. "It is under the shelter of initiation that one should live in the three stages of life".[580] "Without previous initiation japa, pūjā and so on are like the sowing of seeds on a rock. They would never lead to a better state of life or perfection (*siddhi-*). Mantras taken from a book without previous initiation are of no use whatever. Besides, a person who dies uninitiated goes to the terrible Raurava Hell. On the other hand, initiation – which of course is always to be received from a guru[581] – consumes innumerable sins. One should therefore seek the supreme truth so long as this body exists, because in the next world there is no medicine.[582]

In illustration of the above some quotations may be inserted here from chapter XIV of the Kulārṇava-Tantra which gives us much information about the ideas fostered in the Tantrist circles with regard to dīkṣā. Without "initiation" there is no liberation (*mokṣa-*; st. 3; 84) and there is no dīkṣā without a guru or ācārya. This ācārya must be one of an uninterrupted succession of teachers. Without a preceptor the mantras are fruitless. He must be thoroughly versed and completely experienced in the *Heilswahrheiten* and *Heilstatsachen.* The pupil will, when duly qualified, obtain definitive liberation after death. By teaching or receiving the mantra in an improper way one draws a curse on oneself, by teaching or learning what is not in the sacred books one will undergo the torments of hell. When guru and pupil do not subject each other to an examination of their qualities they will be reduced to the state of a piśāca. For the pupil a probationary period of a year, or of another long period is obligatory; a competent guru is recognizable because of his emotional reactions to happenings of religious import (23f. *śrīguroḥ smaraṇe cāpi kīrtane darśane 'pi ca / vandane paricaryāyām āhvāne preṣaṇe priye / ānandakamparomāñcasvaranetrādivikriyāḥ / yeṣām syus te 'tra yogyāś ca dīkṣāsaṃskārakarmaṇi*). The teaching of mantras to an unworthy pupil or for money is sinful; besides they do not sink into him. In accordance with the well-known Indian tradition to distinguish between the highest, mediocre and lowest specimina of a definite class of things, there are three categories of pupils, according to their qualification on account of their bhakti, knowledge etc. Introduction is threefold: *karmopadeśa-* (which takes much time), *dharmasya upadeśa-*, and *jñānopadeśa-* (which takes least time).

580 A. Avalon (editor), *Principles of Tantra*, p. 850.
581 Although, in Tantric initiation, "the work will be done" by the transcendent power inherent in the mantra (*mantraśakti-*) it is the guru "in whom there is divine power, sādhana and siddhi" who has to awaken that power. See Avalon, *Principles*, p. 851.
582 Avalon, *o.c.*, p. 855.

Dīkṣā is also threefold (34 *sparśākhyā... dṛksaṃjñā / mānasākhyā*). This is explained as follows: dīkṣā by touching is comparable to a bird's rearing and cherishing her young under her wings (35); the dīkṣā by looking at the aspirant to the behaviour of a fish which brings her young ones up by looking at them; the guru who imparts mental initiation may be compared to a tortoise who rears her children by thought or meditation (*dhyānamātreṇa*). The result desired is only attained when śaktipāta takes place, i.e. the spiritual procedure by which the preceptor puts his spiritual power in his pupil. Besides, there are other forms of dīkṣā. One of them is performed by the guru by means of ritual utensils (*kriyādīkṣā*) and aims at the purification of the body. The dīkṣā by means of the letters of the alphabet (*varṇadīkṣā*) consists in placing (*nyasya*) these (after they have been fixed on the highest soul which is spirit) on the body of the aspirant so that the latter experiences a state of divinity. The initiation after the method called *kalādīkṣā*[583] rests on the identification of the lowest part of the body with ceasing from worldly acts, the part between knees and navel with a state of tranquillity and stability, and the upper parts with knowledge and peace. But dīkṣā by touching, addressing or looking at the pupil is considered to relate to Śiva (*śāmbhavī dīkṣā*); *guror ālokamātreṇa bhāṣaṇāt sparśanād api / sadyaḥ saṃjñāyate jñānam.* A curious dīkṣā (*manodīkṣā*) is described in st. 57ff.: *adhvānaṃ ṣaḍvidhaṃ jñātvā śiṣyadehe smaran... // kalpayed bhuvanaṃ tattvaṃ kalāṃ varṇaṃ padaṃ manum / ājānunābhihṛtkaṇṭhatālumūrdhāntam... // gurūpadiṣṭamārgeṇa vedhaṃ kuryāt vicakṣaṇaḥ / pāśayuktaḥ kṣaṇāc chiṣyaś chinnapāśas tadā bhavet*, etc. etc.

The author of the Gautamīya-Tantra[584] expresses the opinion that the aspirant should have been born in a noble family, be of pure spirit, be learned in the Vedas, and in the dharma, be wise and devoted to the service of parents and guru, even desirous of doing good to the incarnated souls, a doer of acts which bear good fruit in the next world etc. He should, moreover, be free from delusion and perform acts of enduring results. Omitting the reproduction of the long lists of failings and other negative qualities it may be said, first that this 'initiation' is of secondary character, presupposing the upanayana, and in second place that the ancient re-

583 Cf. also the lexicon Vācaspatyam, III, 1792 s.v. *kalāvatī (dīkṣābhede)*: .... *caturdhā sā saṃdiṣṭā kriyāvatyādibhedataḥ / kriyāvatī varṇamayī kalātmā vedhavaty api / tāḥ krameṇaiva kathānte tantre 'smin sampadāvahāḥ...*
584 Quoted by Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, p. 867.

quirement of Aryan birth has been combined with the addition of severe moral, ritual and intellectual conditions. Regulations with regard to failings and transgressions were also given by the ancient sūtrakāras.[585]

The description of the "Full initiation" (*pūrṇābhiṣeka-*) in MahānT. 10, 110ff.[586] begins by enjoining the guru to worship, on the previous day, Gaṇeśa, the non-Vedic[587] god of the obstacles, teaching the bījamantras etc., the meditation and the mental offerings required to make this act valid. Thereupon he should worship the protecting powers of the seat (*pīṭhaśakti-*), likewise a non-Vedic rite; the eight Śaktis (Brāhmī etc.: non-Vedic), the protectors of the regions (Indra, Agni etc.: they do not appear in literature before the upaniṣads[588])[589], and, once again Gaṇeśa. The procedure of the initiation proper, on the next day, though widely different from the classical Vedic 'consecration', requires a bath, various acts of worship etc. The initiand implores his guru to "grant him, by his grace, the success of his undertaking", the latter replying: "be thou, by the permission of Śiva-Śakti (i.e. Śiva and his dynamic creative power, represented as his spouse) initiated with the 'full initiation'". Thereupon he proceeds to execute the (tantric-Hindu) rites required for the occasion,[590] asking permission to those fully initiated members of the community (*kaulās*) who are present.

The manuals and compilations dating from a later period may contain descriptions of a dīkṣā according to Tantric rites as well as a dīkṣā after the Vedic method (*vedoktena vidhānena*), which is free from tantric influences.[591] The conclusion is obvious: these rites were, in a way, considered equivalent or complementary, and the Vedic form of consecration had at least in theory survived. There are many more indications of combination and amalgamation. Thus, in the NiśvāsatattvaSaṃhitā Devī says that she knows the doctrines of the Vedānta and the 25 Sāṃkhyas and now desires to learn the Śivatattva. The first chapter deals with the initiation (*dīkṣā*) and the initiated (*dīkṣitaḥ*), the second with sacrifice (*agnikāryam*) and the mode of worshipping Śiva (*śivārcanavidhiḥ*), the third chapter with *muktimaṇḍalam*, the fourth with *muktadīkṣā* and the

585 See e.g. Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 373 f.
586 For a complete translation see Avalon, *The great liberation*, p. 324 ff.
587 See A. Getty, *Gaṇeśa* (Oxford, 1936); J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 261 f.
588 But see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 167.
589 See MahānirT. 6, 103.
590 For which see Avalon, *The great liberation*, p. 328 f.
591 See e.g., in connection with the PadmaPurāṇa, R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the purāṇic records on Hindu rites and customs* (Dacca, 1940), p. 123.

fifth with the nature of the mantras.[592] Those circles who considered initiation impossible without the help of a guru warned against the wrong and in their eyes dangerous idea that study of Veda and Vedānta without a true guru leads to the same results as initiation. "They may read śāstras day and night, but will remain ignorant of the supreme truth".[593] True knowledge which leads to liberation cannot be derived from a study of the Vedas nor from reading the Śāstras.

K. MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM

It cannot here be attempted to sketch the history of 'initiation' and 'consecration' in Mahāyāna Buddhism, but a few remarks may be made to show that in this mighty current of thought and religious practice the same fundamental ideas reappear. Here also there is a probationary period, which, as a rule, lasts for a year, and here also proper precautions on both sides must be taken before a working harmony is established between 'master' and 'pupil'. Only those who have gone the same hard way as the aspirants are competent to guide them. In Buddhism also the advice and spiritual direction of masters of mysticism – called *dam ngag* or *men ngag* in Tibet, the Sanskrit *upadeśa-* – is fervently sought for and not rarely acquired at the cost of incredible trials. Although the disciple himself is often considered largely responsible for the success or failure of his spiritual training, the instruction of an expert in spiritual matters who transmits, by word of mouth, the traditional mystical training is regarded as extremely valuable. Before being entrusted with any *dam ngag* whatsoever, the novice must receive what is, in Tibet, called *lung*, "advice", which must be followed by an 'initiation'. Without this *lung* no study, not even that of the alphabet is begun, and higher knowledge is not imparted without serious preliminaries. When this ceremony is omitted no good result or religious merit may be expected. "L'initiation que le maître confère est le 'pouvoir' (*dbang* "empowerment")[594] de lire tel texte et de pratiquer telle méditations, pouvoir qui s'ajoute aux instructions précises (*lung*). Ce pouvoir, le maître le tient de sa lignée de transmission directe, qui remonte invariablement à une divinité supreme".[595]

592 See also P. Ch. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, I (Calcutta, 1939), p. 93 f.
593 Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, p. 858.
594 See e.g. also H. V. Guenther, *the life and teaching of Nāropa* (Oxford, 1963), p. 267; 269.
595 R. A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine* (Paris, 1962), p. 148.

In the Tibetan version of the HevajraTantra[596] the word *dbaṅ* "ceremony, consecration" is used to translate *dīkṣā* as well as *seka-* "sprinkling, consecration": 1, 6, 23 *śikṣādīkṣāvinirmukto lajjakāryaṃ tathaiva ca / sarvabhāvasvabhāvena (vi)cared yogī mahākṛpaḥ*; cf. 1, 10, 27; 2, 3, 10; 12.

Whereas the above Buddhist customs remind us of the dīkṣā of the type mentioned in the MānavaGS. other Tibetan 'initiations' are perfect pendants of the Hindu vratas. Hunters who by a special initiation have become the protégés, servants and devotees of certain genii are for instance said to be under an obligation to hunt on certain fixed days.

However, those who "take refuge with the Buddha" have also to undergo a kind of initiation.[597] After the disciple has formally requested the teacher to set up images of the Three Jewels and has worshipped them, imploring the grace of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and teacher, on behalf of him who follows the 'special method' a maṇḍala is prepared with flowers and a spiritual friend is requested to initiate. The actual ceremony takes place on the second night before the Three Jewels which are again worshipped and a formula is recited in which the intention of the novice to take refuge is clearly expressed. Those who are received into the monastic order[598] are subject to a series of rites part of which are identical with those of the upanayana or with the reception into a Hindu religious community. Some of these may be recalled here. The youth has to come of his own free will and to apply for admission; he has to be free from deformities etc.[599] and from transgressions of the Buddhist commandments. His head is shaven, he is clad in the mendicant's robes; he receives a religious name, is exhorted to keep the precepts and rules, to look upon the Grand Lāma as a living Buddha; vows are administered to him, and formulas recited and repeated. At the next 'service' the boy is brought into the great assembly hall, carrying a bundle of incense sticks. This ceremony is regarded as a marriage with the church. It may be remembered that definite acts performed during the Vedic upanayana were also intended to establish a close relation between guru and pupil: "Your heart shall dwell in my heart, your mind shall follow my mind ..." "Wie bei der Hochzeit der Bräutigam die Hand der Braut ergreift, faszt

596 D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra* (London, 1959).
597 See e.g. Sgam.po.pa, *Jewel Ornament of Liberation*, translated by H. V. Guenther (London, 1959), p. 103 f.; B. Bromage, *Tibetan Yoga* (London, 1959), p. 86 ff.
598 L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet* (Cambridge, ²1958), p. 177 ff.
599 For details see A. Macdonald, *Le maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Paris, 1962), p. 62 ff.; 127 ff. ("l'ācārya doit d'abord s'assurer que les disciples remplissent les conditions physiques, morales et sociales voulues").

hier der Lehrer die Hand des Schülers".[600] Afterwards the Buddhist youth undergoes a severe course of instruction, during which corporal punishment may be freely inflicted. His spiritual adviser who then initiates the novice into the mysterious rites is held by the latter in especial reverence all through life.

'Initiation' is, in Tibet, primarily a means of "inducing the novice to discover *for himself* certain facts that are not directly revealed to him but which, by the aid of symbolical rites, he will eventually perceive himself. Tibetan initiation is not intended to enlighten the novice but rather to lead him to become conscious of what has hitherto been hidden from him because his mental eye has not been capable of perceiving it".[601] Initiation in any mystery can only be achieved when mind and heart are ready for it. The Tibetan term *angkur* does therefore not correspond to the usual meaning of the English word initiation. The *angkur* is not primarily a revelation of a secret doctrine, "but the transmission of a power, a force, by a kind of psychic process. The object in view is to communicate to the initiate the capacity to perform some particular act or to practise certain exercises which tend to develop various physical or intellectual faculties".[602] This aim is not widely different from that pursued by the Hindu saṃskāras. Communication with any Buddhist 'godhead' must therefore be viewed as getting in touch with some particular aspect of Power.

The so-called mystical 'initiations' are in reality psychic in character: the theory is that the disciple is capable of drawing off the energy which emanates from the master or from other sources, and which is transmitted to him. Although the initiating lama supplies the energy which is to be assimilated by the disciple, the latter is not passive; he has: "to endow himself with power". It is the main task of the master to develop in the novice faculties enabling him to come into direct contact with the higher reality and to see through the outer appearances of things. "Blessed son, now that thou art empowered, thou understandeth the nature of existence".[603] It follows, that in certain milieus much emphasis is laid on those aspects of ceremonial initiation which are associated with the accumulation of physical energy.[604] The rites in which the 'initiation'

600 H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Stuttgart, ³1923), p. 465.
601 A. David-Neel, *Initiations and Initiates in Tibet* (London, (1931) 1958), p. 12; 39 f.; 146.
602 Although the direct ancestor of the Lamaist *angkur* is the Hindu *abhiṣeka-* "sprinkling, (consecration by) unction", the Tibetan translators have emphasized the idea of "giving power" (David-Neel, *o.c.*, p. 40).
603 David-Neel, *o.c.*, p. 60.
604 Bromage, *o.c.*, p. 91.

is embedded are considered a concession to the intellectual inadequacy of the disciples; actually, their only effect is a sort of physical therapeutics. There are disciples who do not need them. It is the liturgical words uttered during the mystic initiations which "tend to exhibit to the novice the power and intelligence existing in him in a latent state, to induce him to develop them and rely upon them alone".[605] Spiritual enlightenment is the fruit, not of a rite, but of a mystic experience which cannot be transmitted.

This character of 'initiation' explains the techniques resorted to in imparting it to the aspirant. Among the so-called esoteric initiations are the transmission of psychic power by telepathy, by gesture, by facing each other in silence, the method of training by meditation on the cakra or mystic 'wheel' and the rite called "the devotion to the altar".[606] The last method of inducing the esoteric forces of the over-worlds to manifest themselves in the world of men involves the construction of a maṇḍala,[607] a procedure which we know already from comparable Hindu rites; offerings are set out; a liturgical dialogue between the celebrant and the candidate is held; a ring of coloured threads is tied to the left arm of the latter; a water-pot, a symbol of purity, is placed in turn on the four vital centres of his body; the roll of muffled drums is heard which are to put the candidate into a semi-hypnotic impressionable condition and to make him realise the presence of that most elemental Force which manifests itself as sound (*śabda-*): the ancient idea that brahman reveals itself as sound. Then the candidate, being blindfolded – this feature[608] has already been commented upon à propos of a Viṣṇuite initiatory rite – must cast a flower on the maṇḍala and much – i.e. the new name to be assumed by him;[609] the promise to complete liberation etc. – will depend on the direction of the throw. When the bandage is removed the blinkers of ignorance have fallen off, the powers of obstruction are conquered, and the soul can proceed on the way to liberation. The initiation bound up with the well-known mantra *auṃ mani padme hūm* is performed in silence by master and novice, repeating after each other the sacred words of power, each syllable of which has its special meaning. The syllable *auṃ* for instance awakens thoughts of the creative sounds which first

[605] David-Neel, *o.c.*, p. 53; cf. p. 64.
[606] Bromage, *o.c.*, p. 93.
[607] See G. Tucci, *The theory and practice of the maṇḍala* (London, 1961); Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 133 ff.; R. Tajima, *Les deux grands maṇḍalas et la doctrine de l'ésoterisme Shingon* (Tōkyō-Paris, 1959).
[608] Which returns in other initiatory rites; see e.g. L. Finot, "Manuscrits sanskrits de sādhana's", in *J.A.* 1934 II, p. 36.
[609] See however also Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 136, n. 3.

brought the worlds into existence. By repeating and meditating on these syllables a psychic cleansing is brought about so that the phantasmagoria of the creative visualisation proves to be illusory and "the One abideth".

The more 'orthodox' initiatory systems are not widely different from the esoteric initiations. Here also much value is attached to preparation and meditation, and definite modes of approach to High Power are likewise meticulously observed. These practices are however embedded in a more acknowledged ritual.

Hence also the belief that even bodhisattvas are 'initiated'. After such an exalted being "has for nine levels analysed and discerned knowables with a discriminating mind" he reaches the tenth level, i.e. that of attaining the all-inclusive knowledge of all causal characteristics, "because here a Bodhisattva is initiated by the light rays of the Buddhas in the ten regions of the world".[610] Accordingly, a name of this tenth stage, 'Level of Initiation'.[611] The Chief Lamas are likewise considered to be supreme initiates.[612]

That this 'initiation' was experienced as the descent of divine power achieving an intimate fusion of the divinity meditated upon and the initiate appears from many stories. For instance, an aspirant requests his master to impart to him the initiation of Tārā, and after the required rites the goddess manifests herself.[613] That on the other hand here also, the Indian conviction that these 'initiations', though carried out for higher purposes, may entail worldly effects is explicitly stated, for instance in chapter II of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa: "Si l'on désire augmenter la prospérité du royaume, si l'on veut vivre longtemps, (être) en bonne santé, et en particulier si l'on recherche une augmentation des satisfactions matérielles, ... (la réalisation de ce qu'on désire) est assurée certainement".[614] Just as the study of the Veda not only makes a brahman a true brahman, but also furthers his health, and is a source of fame and delight to him (ŚB. 11, 5, 7, 1), just as the saṃskāras are not only to sanctify the individual and to enable him to enter successfully upon the next stage of life, but also to attract favourable influences and to further his material interests,[615] these Buddhist ceremonies are considered a great help for those desirous of renown, happiness and worldly power.

Another point worth emphasizing is the parallelism, expressed in the

[610] Sgam.po.pa, *o.c.*, p. 250.
[611] See e.g. *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, ed. by J. Rahder, Thesis (Utrecht, 1926), p. 95 f.
[612] For the 'occult connotations' of their elections see also Bromage, *o.c.*, p. 103 ff.
[613] Cf. also R. A. Stein, in *Sino-Indian studies*, 5 (1927), p. 29 ff.
[614] Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 129.
[615] See e.g. Raj Bali Pandey, *Hindu Saṃskāras* (Banaras, 1949), p. 46.

Mahāyānist texts themselves, between the consecration of an aspirant to Buddhahood and the royal consecration. See e.g., in Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, ch. II:[616] "... alors, comme pour la consécration royale (*rājyābhiṣekam iva*), on conférera l'abhiṣeka à (un disciple) dont la foi en le Buddha, la Loi et la Communauté est totale ..."; "ensuite, lorsqu'il a fait préparer les accessoires comme pour la consécration royale, le maître officiant se réjouit". "Ensuite, lorsqu'il a fait préparer tous les accessoires comme pour la consécration royale". "Il est bien certain qu'en pénétrant dans le maṇḍala, le novice, devenu une sorte de Śākyamuni le temps de son initiation, est considéré, à l'image de celui-ci, comme un Bodhisattva et un roi Cakravartin; des traits de ces deux destinées ... sont présents tout au long du rite".[617] We have indeed every reason to recall the ancient motif of the initiate's 'deification'.

So deep-rooted are many elements and features of these Indian rites that a considerable number of ritual acts and technical terms which occur already in the Vedic consecratory rites have survived in Mahāyāna Buddhism, whereas other details are in a less surprising way common to the latter and many Hindu denominations. Miss Macdonald[618] is no doubt perfectly right in drawing attention to the "rapports étroits qui existent entre la dīkṣā brahmanique et l'abhiṣeka bouddhique". Thus in the description of the rite contained in Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Ch. II we find not only such terms and concepts as the Hindu *pūjana-* "worship"; *nivedya-* 'offering of food (for the image of a god)"; *śālitaṇḍula-* (Mbh. 2, 54, 25 cr. ed.) "threshed, husked and winnowed rice"; *siddhi-* and *sādhana-*; the *pūrṇakalaśa-* "a full pitcher", but also *bali-* 'offering of food" (which is thrown on the ground) to deities and other beings (to the deities to whom the Vedic bali is presented belong also the rākṣasas; in the MMK. it is given to the demons);[619] *pradakṣiṇa-* "sun-wise circumambulation"; the verb *saṃbharati* "to prepare what is necessary"; *acārya-*; *kuśa-* "the sacred grass"; *homa-* "oblation thrown into the fire"; *arghya-* "what is offered at a respectful reception of a guest"; the verb *anu-jñā-* "to authorize". Not a few elements of the Vedic ceremonies discussed in the above pages return in the Buddhist ceremony, e.g. the propitiation of minor deities (demons), a homa, ritual bathing; a change in the coiffure of the initiate; an *abhiṣeka-* "unction or sprinkling of water";[620] the communication of a mantra. Whereas the teaching of the Sāvitrī signizaled the second birth of the Vedic boy, the "personal mantra" (*svamantra-*) of the young Buddhist makes him attain to the highest goal, i.e. illumination. Then there is the importance of the eastern and northeastern directions; the erection of a canopy (see e.g. PārGS. 1, 4, 2); the hommage paid to the initiator and the solemn invitation to receive the aspirant.[621] The Buddhist candidate sits, while facing the east, on a tuft of kuśa grass (a 'darbha') just like the student of the Veda who should sit to the west of the fire on the eastward-pointed darbha (ĀśvGS. 3, 5, 11). The sprinkling on the head (*abhiṣeka-*) of the initiate has also its counterpart in the gṛhyasūtras. As already mentioned, it belonged according to GGS. (3, 4, 11 ff.) to the actual rites of the samāvartana (the completion of Vedic studies and departure of the student) that the teacher besprinkled his pupil with lukewarm water mixed with perfumes etc.[622] "Au moyen des aspersions rituelles, le maître achève l'initiation du novice (*sasekair anugrahaṃ kuryāt*)... L'abhiṣeka n'est pas seulement une cérémonie purificatrice et d'ordination ...; il fait acquérir la science et ses fruits." (Hence also *saṃskāra-* in the sense of "the education of such a 'candidate'"). Whereas the Vedic student then rises to worship the sun with certain mantras, the Buddhist aspirant is also invited to recite formulas. Whereas the former may now, as a married man, teach the Veda, the latter "reçoit le pouvoir de (pratiquer) les voeux, les maṇḍala, les mantra, les mudrā et les sādhana terrestres et supra-terrestres".[623] He now is accepted and authorized (*anujñāta-*) by all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas to practice and teach the mantras, maṇḍalas etc. etc. Also in the Vedic ceremony *anujñā-* "authorization" was regarded as necessary, because it certified the

616 Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 137 f.
617 Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 134, n.
618 Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 135, n.
619 See e.g. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II (Poona, 1941), p. 745 ff.
620 For a royal unction ceremony without śrauta complications see J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1957), p. 4, n. 1.

621 As to some seeming similarities between the age of those undergoing the abhiṣeka and that of the Vedic and Hindu children undergoing the upanayana the reader may be referred to a recent publication: Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 135, n. 1.
622 The sense of *abhiṣeka-* which is usually translated by "consecration (by an unction or sprinkling water)" is made more clear by a Tibetan authority quoted by Guenther (Nāropa, p. 269): "*abhisiñc-* means to 'wash off', that is 'to wash away the dirt of body, speech, mind and awareness which makes man unsuitable for realization'; *abhiṣeka-* means ... 'the power to refine impure body, speech, mind, and awareness so that man is made suitable". "The purpose", Guenther adds, "is to ennoble man, to release him from the feeling of being merely a thing, and to make him realize his inherent divine quality. In the language of existentialist philosophy, man is changed from a status of unauthentic being-in-the-world to that of an authentic being-in-the-world. Here man sees himself as a god (*deva-*), not as a miserable creature at the mercy of dark powers, and the world around him as a divine mansion (*vimāna-*) rather than as a valley of tears. Seeing oneself and others as gods does not mean deification, it points to a feeling of transfiguration". Cf. also L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Études et matériaux* (London, 1898), p. 208; 210.
623 Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 141.

student that he was fit in learning, habit and character for adult life. There is also a counterpart of the address delivered by the teacher to his departing students (e.g. TU. 1, 11) in which they are exhorted to speak the truth, to study the Veda, to worship the gods, to revere the gurus etc. The Buddhist initiate is enjoined not to violate his promise to the great Bodhisattva, not to hold the mantras in contempt, to make his guru happy etc.; "if you do not hold to your promise, the mantras will have no success and much mishap will ensue!" The number 108 (recitations, oblations) which we know from Viṣṇuite and other Hindu rites recurs in these Buddhist ceremonies.

To conclude the ceremony the Buddhist master of the maṇḍala must again offer a homa consisting of a mixture of cooked rice and curdled milk, honey and butter, while pronouncing the hṛdaya-mantra of eight syllables. Next he must, in his mind, evoke the gods and offer them an arghya with flowers. According to Vedic authorities (GGS. 3, 4, 30; cf. JaimGS. 1, 19) the teacher honours the outgoing student with an argha ceremony.[624] The food consists of a madhuparka, i.e. a mixture of honey, curds, and ghee. Finally the master of the maṇḍala must throw the naivedya, the bali etc. into the river or give them to living beings in need. The first part of this instruction again reminds us of a Vedic usage: the outgoing student throws his girdle, staff and antelope-skin into water.

According to Padmavajra (± 690) who in these points finds himself in agreement with the teachings of the Guhyasamāja, *siddhi-* ("perfection") is difficult of attainment in one life. Those who desire to attain it should take up the secret rite, which destroys all thoughts of duality. If one is initiated in the "Tantra of Śrīsamāja, which is the cause of all happiness, one may attain divine perfection by coming into contact with the Mahāmudrā ("the great woman").[625] But in order to do so it is necessary to take an abhiṣeka ("initiation") from a guru. Without the Mahāmudrā no emancipation or success in any rite is possible. But if the adept is initiated into her cult, success is assured even if he should do things which are against all laws. Initiation may for instance also protect the adept from attempts on his life and a premature death. In view of an ancient aim of 'consecration', viz. the attainment to 'immortality' this aim of the rite is quite intelligible.

The Tantrist ideas fused with the aspiration to Bodhisattvaship. In the third chapter of the Vajrayāna work Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi[626]

[624] For details see also Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras* (Delhi, 1959), p. 311 ff.
[625] See further on.
[626] Published in the *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, no. 44, Baroda: Two Vajrayāna works.

the ācārya Anaṅgavajra (about 680 A.D.) deals with the initiation (*abhiṣeka-*) of a disciple into *prajñopāya-*, i.e. the creative principle of the universe from which everything emerges and develops. The preceptor is to be approached by the aspirant in the company of the Mahāmudrā, the Great Woman without whom no success is possible. If on the other hand a worshipper is, with the assistance of a guru, initiated into the Mahāmudrā cult, success is always assured.[627] In the initiation rite the Mahāmudrā appears charming in outward appearance and profusely decked with ornaments. After having praised the guru with a long panegyric the aspirant entreats him to grant him initiation – the ancient and traditional introduction –, so that he may henceforth be regarded as belonging to the family of the Buddhas. The preceptor then favours him with the initiation after associating him in the presence of the assembly with the Mahāmudrā. Further on, the preceptor gives him the five samayas (observances)[628] and imparts instructions on the restraint imposed on the aspirants to Buddhahood. The initiate thereupon thanks the guru for his favour which means freedom from suffering, and takes a solemn vow to place beings in the three worlds in the sphere of Buddha-hood after obtaining it himself.

A very instructive example of an initiation in the Tantric Buddhist sense of the term is found in the biography of the famous saint and scholar, the apostle of deliverance, Padmasambhava, who in the VIIIth century A.D. introduced Buddhism into Tibet.[629] According to the legend, one of his teachers was a ḍākinī[630] who dwelt in a sandalwood garden, in the midst of a cemetery, in a palace of skulls. The esoteric meaning of this is:[631] the garden is the saṃsāra, apparently lovely, but surrounded by decay; the palace of skulls, the human body, is the materialization of all past karman. When Padmasambhava arrived at the door of the palace he found it closed. That is to say, he had not yet discovered the key to the nature and essence of corporeal existence. Then there appeared a servant woman carrying water into the palace. Water means vital power. Padmasambhava sat in concentration so that her water-carrying was halted by the power of his yoga. That means, he succeeds in controlling the normal

[627] B. Bhattacharyya, *An introduction to Buddhist esoterism* (Oxford, 1932), p. 70f.
[628] See S. B. Dasgupta, *An introduction to Tāntric Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1950), p. 92.
[629] See W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan book of the Great Liberation* (Oxford, 1954), p. 131 ff.
[630] A ḍākinī is in the esoteric lore of the tantras a female goblin-like figure characterized by supra-normal knowledge and power and acting as an admonisher.
[631] For a detailed explication see: Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Grundlagen tibetischer Mystik* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1957), p. 217 ff.

stream of vital power through the power of his concentration. Thereupon the maid, producing a knife of crystal cut open her breast and exhibited in it the hundred deities of the tantric maṇḍala,[632] the peaceful and terrible, wrathful forms of the Dhyāni-Buddhas. Padmasambhava now awakes to the insight that the body, notwithstanding its transitoriness, is the temple of the highest powers and achievements. After he has bowed down before her the maid invites him to enter. This passage also has a deeper sense. Humility and unprejudiced willingness to view things as they are open the door which so far had been closed: the secret of his own corporeal existence and the powers operating in it are about to be unveiled.

Upon entering the palace, Padmasambhava sees the chief ḍākinī seated on a sun and moon throne. Sun and moon represent the psycho-cosmic powers which manifest themselves in piṅgalā and iḍā, two 'mystic' canals in the 'subtle' human body, which together with the third 'artery' suṣumnā start from the life-breath centre and being "subtle rivers" help the yogī who can "bathe in their confluence" to attain liberation.[633] The ḍākinī holds in her hand a ritual hour-glass-like double-drum, the 'symbol' of the eternal rhythm of the universe and of the all-pervading transcendent sound of the highest reality, i.e. of Dharma (Buddha's "drum of immortality"). In her left hand she holds a skullcup, filled with blood; it symbolizes the higher knowledge which is attainable only by renouncing earthly life. Making obeisance to her, Padmasambhava begs her to teach him both esoterically and exoterically. The one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities then appear overhead. "Behold", says the ḍākinī, "the deities. Now take initiation". And he answers: "Inasmuch as all the Buddhas throughout the aeons have had gurus, accept me as thy disciple" (notice the ancient formula!). At the moment of initiation she absorbs all these deities into her body, so that she now proves to be the embodiment of the wisdom of all buddhas. Thereupon the ḍākinī transforms Padmasambhava into the syllable *hūṃ*. That is to say, he is identified with the object of his devotion. "In anderen Worten, der Sādhaka, der sich vollkommen mit dem Mantra, als der Pfeilspitze seiner Meditation, identifiziert, wird eins mit der inspirationellen Kraft, dem Erleuchtungsdrange aller Buddhas und verleiht auf diese Weise allen Bewusstseinszentren seines Körpers den Segen der Buddhaschaft, in dem er sie in Gefässe der Erleuchtung verwandelt".[634] These centres of consciousness are: 1) the

[632] See Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan book of the Dead* (Oxford, 1949), p. 217.
[633] See e.g. A. Daniélou, *Yoga* (London, 1949), p. 123 ff.
[634] Anagarika Govinda, *o.c.*, p. 218 f.

throat centre in which Amitābha is realized (when *hūṃ* rests on the lips); 2) the navel centre in which Avalokiteśvara is realized (when the syllable *hūṃ* is swallowed); 3) the root centre in which the creative powers of the body are transmuted into spiritual potencies so as to achieve the regeneration of body and spirit. Or in the words of the narrative, while the *hūṃ* rests on her lips, the ḍākinī conferred upon it the Buddha-Amitābha blessing. Then she swallows the *hūṃ* and inside her stomach Padmasambhava receives the secret Avalokiteśvara initiation. As soon as the *hūṃ* reaches the region of the Kuṇḍalinī – the serpent power representing God's śakti or creative faculty – she confers upon him the initiation of body, speech and mind, and he is cleansed of all defilements and obscurations. In secret, the ḍākinī also grants to Padmasambhava the so-called Hayagrīva initiation, which consists of the transference of such occult power as will enable the initiate to employ with mastery the cosmic forces personified by the Tantric deity Hayagrīva,[635] the Horseheaded One, and manifested through evil spirits and otherwise as forces of destruction or disharmony.[636] This initiation was believed to give him power to dominate all evil spiritual beings.

It is clear that in this legend a mystic or visionary experience, a mental meeting with higher beings, means to the man who is able to understand the deeper sense of these quasi-visual impressions, a revelation of the highest truth and access to ultraphenomenal mysteries, which at the same time are an initiation into a higher state of existence. The legend holds moreover a prospect of success only to those who are able and willing to subject themselves to the same experiences as the exemplary hero. Mystical experience and a full realization of the deeper sense of its 'symbolism'[637] are the only way to the ultimate goal.

The threefold power transferred by the above threefold initiation and the true nature of the chief ḍākinī which embraces all Buddha-wisdom is also expressed in the mantra of the Vajra-Yoginī which is handed down in the Buddhist tantric Sādhanamālā.[638] This mantra runs as follows: *Oṃ Oṃ Oṃ, Sarva-buddha-ḍākinīye vajra-varṇanīye vajra-vairocanīye, hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā.* "Als Sarva-buddha-ḍākinī, d.h. als 'genius' aller Buddhas, verkörpert sie den inspirationellen Impuls, der

[635] See R. H. van Gulik, *Hayagrīva*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1935).
[636] See Evans-Wentz, *Great Liberation*, p. 133, n. 1.
[637] For ḍākinīs see e.g. David-Neel, *Initiations*, p. 48. See also R. A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet* (Paris, 1959), p. 334.
[638] Sādhanamālā, p. 453 (*Gaekwad Or. Ser. vol.* 46). See also Bhattacharyya, *o.c.*, p. 160.

die Buddhas zur Verwirklichung der Buddhaschaft, zur volkommenen Erleuchtung treibt und der allen Aspekten der Weisheit zugrunde liegt".[639]

In a short paper[640] Professor De La Vallée Poussin at the time drew attention to a Tantric practice which may not be left unmentioned here. The rite he described and which – without being a thing by itself – is characteristic of the mysticism of the Vajrācāryas – "mysticisme issu ... de la spéculation mādhyamika, influencé par les idées védantiques et les cérémonies 'śāktas' ...", is, in the opinion of the author, "l'exacte contrepartie des initiations ou dīkṣās décrites dans les brāhmaṇas". The main doctrine of the Guhyasamāja,[641] which is the most important school of this Vajrācāryas, concerns the identity of the individual body, voice and thought with those of all the Tathāgatas. This identity is realized by those who are conscious of it, but there are various ceremonies which while perfecting body, voice and thought may help to attain this goal. The rite as described in the CaṇḍamahāroṣaṇaTantra[642] is the following: "l'ascète meurt à l'existence humaine en accomplissant la double tâche: la pūjā ou adoration et le *viśiṣṭaṃ karma*, l'acquisition de la science est la mort parfaite: *maraṇaṃ viśiṣṭam*. L'ascète obtient l'*antarābhavadeha-*, c. à. d. un corps de dharma, un corps transparent: *mṛtyur evocyate dharmaḥ*. Dans le belvédère construit à cet effet et qui est la demeure des Bouddhas, l'ascète se représente le Bouddha uni d'amour avec la déesse[643] ... Témoin du maithuna des divinités, l'ascète s'incarne dans le sein de la Tārā dont il est épris ...". Thereupon he is born again as a Buddha.

The consecration of oracle priests likewise involved a sort of initiation: "A man who accepts the call of the protective deity and who decides to become an oracle priest will have to undergo first a period of training. Those mediums who are supposed to be visited by higher-ranking dharmapālas will have to spend several years in a monastery to receive some

[639] For a detailed explication see Anagarika Govinda, *o.c.*, p. 219 ff.
[640] L. de la Vallée Poussin, "Une pratique des Tantras", in *Actes du XIe congrès international des Orientalistes* (Paris, 1897), I (Paris, 1899), p. 241.
[641] See e.g. B. Bhattacharyya in H. Bhattacharyya, *The cultural heritage of India*, IV (Calcutta, ²1956).
[642] Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra, ch. 15, Viśuddhipaṭala. See also De la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Études et matériaux*, p. 153 f.
[643] As is well known, the śākta theory according to which God is united with his Śakti has also been adopted by the Buddhist schools. Hence the formula *bhagavān bhagavatībhageṣu vijahāra* and the belief that one can become a buddha by practising maithuna: *buddhatvaṃ yoṣidyonisamāśritam.*

special instruction ... During this time they receive yogī training and have to meditate frequently. The mediums of the highest *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* have to pass a special test in order to receive official recognition". This test obviously is a sort of initiation.[644]

L. MODERN HINDUISM

Modern Hindus, even those who have emigrated, have retained some form or other of the old dīkṣā of the man who wishes to sacrifice and to adore the gods (the *yajamāna-*). It is this man, not the priest who, before the sacrifice, undergoes a sanctification, consisting in fasting, abstinence from meat, salt and other victuals, sexual continence, shaving of beard and hair, etc.[645] It should be noticed, first, that as a rule the time-honoured homa and the Hindu pūjā are performed in combination, the latter being followed by a homa, and in the second place that whereas the rites introduced by the above dīkṣā are in principle gṛhya rites the householder usually calls in the aid of a priest, as soon as the ceremony is of any importance.

Moreover, 'initiation' often marks until modern times "the admission of the child to caste privileges and obligations, and children, dying before this rite, are usually buried, not cremated".[646] High caste children in Bengal are, for instance, permitted before initiation to eat with other children of any pure caste. That is to say that the ancient idea that it is upanayana which actually makes a brahman still prevails,[647] although this rite and samāvartana are often made to succeed each other immediately.[648] "Indeed, strictly speaking, gotra (the internal exogamous division of the

[644] See R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and demons of Tibet* ('s-Gravenhage, 1956), p. 419. – For a Japanese Buddhist initiation ceremony ("ein Beispiel der Tendai-Eṣoterik") see H. von Glasenapp, *Der Buddhismus* (Berlin, 1936), p. 279 f.; the blindfolding is here explained as "die symbolische Ausschaltung des körperlich-getrübten Auges, damit das geistige Auge sehen kann".
[645] See e.g. C. J. M. de Klerk, *Cultus en ritueel van het orthodoxe Hindoeisme in Suriname* (Amsterdam, 1951), p. 31.
[646] W. Crooke, *Religion and folklore of Northern India* (Oxford, 1926), p. 186; S. C. Dube, *Indian village* (London, 1955), p. 35.
[647] Compare A. Rogerius, *De open-deure tot het verborgen heydendom*, ed. W. Caland ('s-Gravenhage, 1915), p. 27: "Al-hoewel dat de kinderen der Bramines, ten aensien van hare afkomste, Bramines sijn, nochtans en wordense voor geen Bramines gehouden, voor dat sy het koordeken ... aen den hals dragen".
[648] The KālikāPurāṇa laid down the rule that a boy who had undergone the saṃskāras including upanayana in his father's house cannot be taken in adoption. See K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Rājadharma* (Adyar, 1941), p. 31.

endogamous caste) is not inherited but is acquired by the 'twice-born' castes only at the initiation ceremony (upanayana) at which the sacred thread is assumed".[649] On an appointed day a Hindu boy of about eight years of age – or also not until he is twelve – must fast, bathe and appear in a spotless garment. He is then left alone with the guru, who selects for him some special deity, and teaches him a mantra.[650] Although in post-medieval Hinduism the general plan of the ceremony had undergone considerable changes, some of the most essential and most characteristic features were retained: the obligatory upanayana before the transmission of the mantra or the study of religious texts however superficial, purificatory rites, a new garment, sacrificial rites (homa), shaving, trimming the nails, the 'sacred cord', the secret communication of the mantra, the pouring out of water, etc.[651] In remote regions the ceremony is on the other hand sometimes of relatively recent origin and adopted along with Sanskritic marriage forms.[652]

It does not lie within our province to discuss all the aspects of Indian 'initiation'. However, mention may be made of the so-called *gurmukh* (Hindī *gur(u)-mukh honā* "to receive the initiatory mantra from a guru; to become a disciple"). This ceremony, which is closely related to the upanayana and the vedārambha, is either a complement to, or a substitute of upanayana. In certain milieus, e.g. among the adherents of Kabīr, it marks the reception of a new member, called *dīkṣita-*, into the community. It is worth mentioning that those Hindus who have received the *gur(u)-mukh(a-)*, i.e. who have learned the *guru-mantra-* from the own mouth of the preceptor-initiator often are reluctant to embrace another religion which requires entrance ceremonies (e.g. baptism) of their aspirant members. Hence the identification, in Hindu milieus, of *gurmukh* and the Christian baptism. The ceremonies include fasting, bodily contact between preceptor and disciple, an address on dharma etc. delivered by the former, a dakṣiṇā, etc.[653]

[649] J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (Cambridge, 1946), p. 51.
[650] For some details see e.g. W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism* (London, 1887), p. 28 f.
[651] For descriptions see Rogerius, *o.c.*, p. 27 ff. and especially, J. A. Dubois, *Moeurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde*, nouv. éd. (Pondichéry, 1921), I, p. 239 ff.; M. Monier Williams, *Hinduism* (London, 1890), p. 59 ff.
[652] E. T. Atkinson, "Notes on the history of religion in the Himalayas of the N. W. Provinces", *J.A.S.B.* 53 (1884), p. 92 ff.; G. D. Berreman, *Hindus of the Himalayas* (Berkeley, 1963), p. 130.
[653] For the *gurmukh* among Hindu emigrants see de Klerk, *o.c.*, p. 116 ff.

Discussing "caste observances" Rev. James Cartman[654] informs us, in connection with the twice-born Hindus of Ceylon – brahmans and a very small number of very high cast Vallālas –, that they undergo a religious ceremony called *dīkṣā*. Brahmans take this initiation ceremony when they are five or six; the high caste Vallālas at the age of fourteen or fifteen. For a month before and a month after the ceremony, the candidate for initiation is strictly vegetarian in his diet, and during the preparatory month he is taught Sanskrit prayers. On the chosen day he is ceremoniously bathed and taken to the temple where the priest repeats several mantrams and whispers something into his ear, something which must be kept secret. This secret formula is *auṃ śivayāham*. During the ceremony sacred ash is smeared with three finger tips, forming three distinct bars or lines upon sixteen different parts of the body. Only those who have taken dīkṣā are entitled to wear the three distinct bars of the Śivaites. Another privilege of the twice-born is the sacred thread. The twice-born Hindu who has been duly initiated is expected henceforth to maintain higher standards than other Hindus in the observance of ceremonial religion, to be more strictly vegetarian and to attain a higher standard of moral behaviour.

In elucidation of the use of the term *dīkṣā* Diehl's[655] definition of the South-Indian *Śiva-tīkṣai* (< Skt. *dīkṣā*) may be quoted: "it is the ceremony whereby a man or a woman is made fit to worship Śiva in accordance with the rules of the Śaiva Āgamas". There are four types of dīkṣā, dividing the Śivaites into four groups: those who have received occasional *tīkṣai*; those who have received special *tīkṣai*, those who have received the "emancipation" (*nirvāṇa*) *tīkṣai* and the *ācāriyar* (gurus) who in addition to these three mentioned has received anointment. In South India the term *tīkṣai* is also used for the time during which one is "bound" to perform certain rites or ceremonies. Compare the Vedic usage. It is effected through the tying of a string tied to the wrist in token of a vow, and can be removed accordingly.[656]

Dīkṣā is not an institution of the past according to Ramana Maharshi,[657] for instance, *mauna-* ("silence") is the best and the most potent dīkṣā, the other methods (look, touch etc.) being of a lower order and derived from silence. The guru's silence is the loudest *upadeśa-* "teaching" and grace in its higher form. "If the guru is silent the seeker's mind

[654] J. Cartman, *Hinduism in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1957), p. 140.
[655] C. G. Diehl, *Instrument and purpose* (Lund, 1956), p. 51, n. 5.
[656] Diehl, *o.c.*, p. 52, n.
[657] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, II (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 335 ff.

becomes purified by itself". *Mauna-dīkṣā* will purify the individual in every way and establish him in the One Reality.[658]

It may be of some interest to add that in the case of a non-Hindu who wishes to join the Ārya Samāj a simple purificatory ceremony is obligatory, which is usually carried out by a brahman. "After fasting, bathing, shaving and changing his clothes, and after the Hom ceremony has been performed, he accepts the Gāyatrī".[659]

658 *Talks with Sri Ramana Maharshi* (Tiruvannamalai 1955), p. 541; 663 f.
659 J. C. Oman, *Cults, customs and superstitions of India* (London, 1908), p. 176.

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